

POL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA  
9-1-68

STATE DEPARTMENT SYSTEMATIC REVIEW  
☐ Retain classification ☐ Change/classify to \_\_\_\_\_  
☒ Declassify with conditions  
EO 12958, 25X  
FPC/HDR by AS Date: 3/20/96  
Withdrawal No. \_\_\_\_\_

0598

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VND 959503  
By: MV NARA Date: 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 273

PAGE 01 LAGOS 13082 300948Z

14  
ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00, /070 W

P 300840Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2791  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

S E C R E T LAGOS 13082

LIMDIS NOFORN EXCEPT UK

REF: LAGOS 13067 - *Pol 27 Biafra Nigeria*

1. VOLKMAR REPORTS FMG ASKED SEPT 29 THAT QUAKERS TRY TO FIND OUT WHETHER BIAFRANS STILL INTERESTED IN SECRET NEGOTIATIONS DESPITE OJUKWU'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS.

2. MARTIN GOING TO LISBON AND VOLKMAR TO LONDON TODAY IN HOPE MAKING CONTACT WITH RESPONSIBLE BIAFRANS RETURNING TO EUROPE AFTER MEETING AT UMUAHIA. VOLKMAR SAID THAT DEPENDING ON OUTCOME THESE CONTACTS HE, MARTIN OR CURLE MIGHT UNDERTAKE ANOTHER TRIP INTO BIAFRA.

3. VOLKMAR INFORMED THAT GENEVA, LONDON AND PARIS HAD REPORTED THEY NOT AWARE ANY RECENT RETURNEES FROM BIAFRA.

GP-3  
MATHEWS

*LAGOS 13082  
9-30-68*

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SECRET

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L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screeners MRC

POST LAGOS

(Time Received)

SERIAL 13082

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DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT CS9

Secretariat

S/S-S 1  
S/S-O 1  
S/S-Screener 3  
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S/S-O DIR ✓  
MilRep ✓  
Summary ✓  
Task Force

Geographic

AF5 x5  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 9  
NEA 7

Other

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
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Functional

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Principals

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OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10 10  
CIA ✓  
DOD ✓  
USIA 4 ✓  
NSA

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37



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 918

PAGE 01 LAGOS 13107 301808Z

46  
ACTION AF 16

INFO: EUR 15, SAH 02, NSA 02, CIAE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, IO 13, RSR 01, 119 W

R 301646Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC 2810  
INFO: AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
CINCSRIKE/CINEMAFA  
DIA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 13107

SUBJECT: FMG PLOY TO REASSURE OAU

1. FMG HAS APPARENTLY DELIBERATELY LEADED TO THE PRESS THE TEXT OF INSTRUCTION SENT TO NIGERIAN DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS IN AFRICAN CAPITALS. THE INSTRUCTIONS DENY THAT THE FMG IS INTERESTED IN AN ALLEGED QTE PEACE PROPOSAL UNQTE BY VISITING BRITISH MINISTER LORD SHEPHERD AND REAFFIRM NIGERIA'S INTENTION OF DEALING WITH THE REBELS ONLY THROUGH THE OAU.

2. TEXT OF TELEGRAM IS" QTE YOU WILL HAVE HEARD OF THE VISIT TO LAGOS BY LORD SHEPHERD ON BEHALF OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. HE CAME WITH A MESSAGE THAT THE REBELS HAD INDICATED THAT THEY WERE GOING TO HOLD A MEETING IN UMUAHIA TO DECIDE WHETHER TO CAPITULATE IN AND ORDERLY FASHION OR TO CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE. THE CHANCES OF

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Shepherd 13107  
9-30-68

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Department of State **TELEGRAM** 27

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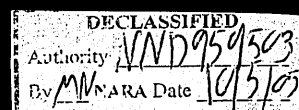
PAGE 02 LAGOS 13107 301808Z

THE REBEL GENERAL ASSEMBLY AGREEING TO AN ORDERLY CAPITULATION WERE SLIGHTLY BETTER THAN 50-50. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FELT ENCOURAGED TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE OF SUGGESTING TO THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT THAT SECRET TALKS WITH THE REBELS BE UNDERTAKEN IN AN UNSPECIFIED PLACE FOLLOWED BY THE FORMAL SIGNING OF AN AGREEMENT EITHER IN LAGOS OR UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE EMPEROR IN ADDIS ABABA. AT A SUBSEQUENT MEETING IN UMUHIA THE REBEL LEADERS DECIDED TO CONTINUE FIGHTING AND EVEN TO GO INTO GUERRILLA WAR. ONCE AGAIN YOU WILL SEE THAT THE REBELS WITH THIS LATEST DISPLAY OF THEIR INSINCERITY HAD THE INTENTION OF EMBARRASSING MY GOVERNMENT IN THE EYES OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES. MY GOVERNMENT HAD ABSOLUTELY NOTHING TO DO WITH THE BRITISH INITIATIVE AND IS COMPLETELY OPPOSED TO THE REBEL ATTEMPT TO SWITCH OVER ONCE MORE FROM THE OAU TO THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT. I THEREFORE MADE IT CLEAR TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT THAT IF AT ANY TIME THE REBELS ARE REALLY SERIOUS ABOUT AN ORDERLY CAPITULATION OR WISH TO RESUME PEACE TALKS THEY SHOULD ADDRESS THEMSELVES TO THE OAU CONSULTATIVE MISSION. IN ADDITION TO THIS IF THE REBELS WISHED SECRET TALKS THEY WERE FREE TO CONTACT EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE. UNQTE

3. ACCORDING BRITISH HICOM SOURCES, TELEGRAM QTE OBTAINED UNQTE BY REUTERS OVER WEEKEND IN ORDER REASSURE AFRICANS THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO QTE DEAL UNQTE BETWEEN FMG AND BRITISH REGARDING PEACE NEGOTIATIONS TO END CIVIL WAR. WHATEVER FMG INTENTIONS, RESULT HAS BEEN HIGHLY EMBARRASSING TO SHEPHERD, WHO HAD HAD TO DENY THAT HE BROUGHT ANY QTE SECRET PEACE PROPOSALS. UNQTE DECON ONE YEAR MATHEWS

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POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA  
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**TELEGRAM**

41

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 13098 302305Z

87  
ACTION AF 16INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,  
 RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, RSR 01, /117 W

R 301601Z SEP 68  
 FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2798  
 INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
 AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
 AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS  
 AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
 USMISSION GENEVA  
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS LAGOS 13098

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS SUMMARY SEPTEMBER 30

1. LORD SHEPHERD'S VISIT DOMINATED HARD NEWS IN THE WEEKEND AND MONDAY PRESS, WITH ALL PAPERS ATTRIBUTING TO THE VISITING BRITISH MINISTER OF STATE THE QTE INITIATIVE OF SUGGESTING TO THE FMG THAT SECRET TALKS WITH THE REBELS BE UNDERTAKEN IN AN UNSPECIFIED PLACE.... UNQTE ALL PRESS PLAYED STORY IN SUCH WAY AS MAKE IT CLEAR FMG HAD NO INTEREST IN SUCH BRITISH PROPOSALS, BUT WANTED TO DEAL EXCLUSIVELY THROUGH OAU IN ACCORDANCE WITH OAU RESOLUTIONS AT KINSHASA AND ALGIERS.

2. GOVT-CONTROLLED (POST) LED BY QUOTING SHEPHERD AS SAYING QTE I HAVENT BEEN REBUFFED UNQTE (DAILY TIMES) HAD SIX COLUMN HEADLINE QTE PEACE TALKS DOORS CLOSED ON OJUKWU, UNQTE AND MID-WEST GOVT (OBSERVER) HEADLINE WAS QTE BRITAIN WANTS TO HELP THEM (REBELS) CAPITULATE UNQTE

MATHEWS

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 05903 070505Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 02, SCS 04, RSR 01, CIAE 00,  
DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25,  
USIA 12, NSA 02, /155 W

R 301550Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7181  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
INFO USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

*Alkie Alkie 5903  
9-30-68*

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE: ADDIS ABABA 5903

SUBJECT: OAU REPRESENTATIVES ON NIGERIA INTERNATIONAL  
OBSERVERS TEAM

*EXCLUDED BY DATA*

1. ETHIOPIA HERALD SEP 29 REPORTS OAU HAS APPOINTED BRIGGEN  
NEGA TEGENE (ETHIOPIA) AND MAJ. SLIMANE HOFFMAN  
(ALGERIA) AS OAU REPS TO INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER TEAM IN NIGERIA.  
ABOVE APPOINTMENTS ALSO CONFIRMED TO ME BY FONMIN KETEMA.

2. GEN. NEGA, ABOUT 40 YEARS OLD, IS AMONG ABLEST OF ETHIOPIAN  
MILITARY. LAST APRIL HE MARRIED EMPEROR'S GRANDDAUGHTER  
PRINCESS RUTH. NEGA'S VARIED AND IMPRESSIVE CAREER INCLUDES  
SERVICE IN KOREA WITH ETHIOPIAN KAGNEW BATTALION, SERVICE IN  
CONGO AS PRINCIPAL STAFF OFFICER TO COMMANDER ETHIOPIAN FORCES  
AND SUBSEQUENTLY AS CHIEF OF OPERATIONS IN UN HIGH  
COMMAND THERE. SINCE CONGO HE HAS SERVED AS COMMANDO  
BATTALION COMMANDER AND MILITARY GOVERNOR IN OGADEN.  
HE IS CURRENTLY G-3 ON ETHIOPIAN GENERAL STAFF.

3. NEGA IS APPROACHABLE, FRANK IN CONVERSATION, AND ENJOYS  
COMPANY OF AMERICANS. HALL

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*Pol 27 Biafra Nigeria*

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PAGE 01 DAKAR 03986 301235Z

53

ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSC 10,

PI 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SA 01, ACDA 16, IO 13, AID 28,

RSR 01, /162 W

R 300830Z SEP 68

FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2968

INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY PARIS

*DAKAR 3986  
9-30-68*

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE DAKAR 3986

1. APS PRESS BULLETIN REPORTS FOLLOWING REMARKS BY SENHOR ON NIGERIA OVER GERMAN TV SEPTEMBER 24: QUOTE PRESIDENT REGRETTED THAT RECENT OAU CONFERENCE AT ALGIERS HAD NOT ACCEPTED THE SENEGALESE PROPOSAL FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE. HE STRESSED SOLUTION OF BIAFRAN PROBLEM SHOULD RESPECT INTEGRITY OF NIGERIA, WHETHER AS FEDERAL STATE OR AS CONFEDERATION OF STATES. HE ALSO DESCRIBED ROLE OF LARGE POWERS WHICH PROVIDE ARMS TO TWO SIDES. HE CONTINUED "IF BIAFRAN PROBLEM SHOULD BE TAKEN UP BY UN, WE WOULD SUPPORT, WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF OAU, ALL MEASURES WHICH WOULD PUT PRESSURE ON GREAT POWERS TO ABSTAIN FROM INTERVENTION IN NIGERIAN CONFLICT." UNQUOTE.

2. IN CONVERSATION WITH NEW NUMBER TWO MAN IN FONMINISTRY, BABACAR BA, WHO IN CHARGE DURING FONMINISTER GAYE'S VISIT TO UN, I ASKED ABOUT PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT AND ABOUT SENEGALESE ACTION ON NIGERIA AT OAU. HE CONFIRMED GOS DISAPPOINTMENT, NOTING THAT THOUGH SENEGAL FIRMLY SUPPORTED OAU POSITION THAT PRE-COLONIAL BOUNDARIES BE MAINTAINED TO AVOID PROGRESSIVE BREAK-UP AFRICAN STATES INTO TRIBAL ENCLAVES, VERY LITTLE ACTION WAS TAKEN TO ALLEVIATE HUMAN TRAGEDY IN BIAFRAN AREA. IN OTHER WORDS FOCUS OF CONFERENCE WAS POLITICAL TO EXCLUSION HUMANITARIAN FACTORS.

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22

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PAGE 02 DAKAR 03986 301235Z

3. COMMENT: BELIEVE THAT STATEMENT MAY BEEN MADE TO COUNTER-  
ACT FEELING THAT GOS, THROUGH SUPPORT OF NIGERIAN RESOLUTION  
VOTED AT OAU, HAD DROPPED ALL MORAL SUPPORT OF BIAFRA.

LUKENS

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SECRET 950

PAGE 01 LAGOS 13073 281838Z

54

ACTION SS 70

INFO CCO 00,SSO 00,NSCE 00,USIE 00,CIAE 00,1070 W

O P 281730Z SEP 68 ZFF4

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2787

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

S E C R E T LAGOS 13073

LIMDIS

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REF: LAGOS 13041: 13043

SUBJ: SECOND MEETING LORD SHEPHERD WITH GOWON

1. LORD SHEPHERD MET FOR THREE HOURS WITH GOWON AND KEY MEMBERS FMG ON 27TH. ACCORDING DEPUKHCORER GOWON COMMENTED ON POINTS RAISED BY LORD SHEPHERD AT FIRST MEETING AS FOLLOWS:

A. NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT

FMG REMAINS ANXIOUS TO BRING WAR TO SPEEDY CONCLUSION AND WOULD STILL WELCOME NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN CONTEXT OAU ALGIERS RESOLUTION. WILLING ENGAGE IN SECRET PEACE TALKS UNDER OAU AUSPICES.

B. AMNESTY

ALGIERS RESOLUTION CLEAR ON THIS POINT. IF OJUKWU ESCAPED HOWEVER FMG WOULD ASK FOR EXTRADITION.

C. OBSERVERS

SITUATION CHANGED. REBEL HELD AREA SMALL. NO NEED FOR ADDITIONAL OBSERVERS. FMG DOES NOT WISH TO EXPAND PRESENT TEAMS.

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47  
Lagos 13073  
9-28-68

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 13073 281838Z

D. RELIEF MEASURES

FMG HAS DONE ALL POSSIBLE TO GET RELIEF TO REBEL SIDE. OJUKWU USING RELIEF AS POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC WEAPON. GOWON BITTER THAT LINDT TRY TO DICTATE TO FMG BUT WOULD NOT PUSH OJUKWU ON LAND CORRIDOR OR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS NOR WOULD LINDT CRITICIZE OJUKWU FOR REFUSING TO COOPERATE. FMG WOULD CONSIDER USE BY ICRC OF CAPTURED BIAFRAN AIRSTRIPS BUT ONLY UNDER STRICT MILITARY CONTROL.

EMB COMMENT: AMBASSADOR FOUND ARIKPO EQUALLY HARDNOSED IN ATTITUDE TOWARD FMG IN HIS MEETING WITH HIM YESTERDAY EVENING. ARIKPO AT AMB'S URGING AGREED, HOWEVER, ATTEMPT ARRANGE MEETING BETWEEN GOWON AND LINDT EARLIEST. UKHICOM AND OUR OWN IMPRESSION IS THAT FMG FEELS SOVEREIGNTY BEING TRAMPLED UPON AT WILL BY ICRC AND "WESTERN COUNTRIES" AND THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN ICRC AND FMG STRAINED TO THE LIMIT. END COMMENT.

E. AIR DROPS

FMG NEVER HAPPY WITH IDEA OF AIR DROPS. TOO MUCH POSSIBILITY OF MISUSE FOR ARMS DROPS WHICH IT ANTICIPATES WILL BE PATTERN AS SOON AS AIRSTRIPS CAPTURED.

EMBASSY COMMENT:

ACCORDING DEP UKHICOMER (PROTECT) LORD SHEPHERD IN THIS MEETING GAVE FMG ASSURANCE UK WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN ANY AIR DROP WITHOUT AGREEMENT OF FMG. SAME SOURCE SAID LORD SHEPHERD FEARS LINDT NOW FEELS RELEASED FROM PROMISE TO LORD SHEPHERD NOT TO DO ANYTHING ON AIR DROP UNTIL LORD SHEPHERD HAD DISCUSSED MATTER WITH GOWON AND MAY MOVE AHEAD ON AIRLIFT DESPITE FMG. (LAGOS 13043) LORD SHEPHERD AND LINDT WILL MEET AGAIN ON MONDAY.

F. REBEL LEADERSHIP

HOPES OF MOVE BY REBEL LEADERS OTHER THAN OJUKWU DAMPENED BY OJUKWU'S SPEECH, BUT AMNESTY WOULD APPLY TO ANY REBEL LEADER WHO ACCEPTED ALGIERS RESOLUTION. SAFE CONDUCT WOULD BE ARRANGED FOR SUCH PERSONS.

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 13073 281838Z

2. LORD SHEPHERD AND UK HICOMER ON TRIP TODAY TO PORT HARCOURT  
IN GOWON'S EXECUTIVE JET. HOPE POSSIBLE TO OBSERVE RELIEF  
ACTIVITIES IN UYO AREA.

MATHEWS

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Summary  
Task Force

Principals

ES *2*  
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M *2*  
G  
SIG  
S/AH *3*  
S/AL  
SA  
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M/WP  
G/PM *1*

Geographic

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EUR 9  
NEA *7*

Functional

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OTHER AGENCIES

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USIA *4*  
NSA

Other

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*Pol 27 Biafra-Nigeria*  
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*XR POL 7 Biafra*

47

SECRET 967

PAGE 01 LONDON 13036 282013Z

92

ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, AID 28, SAH 02,

PC 04, (RSR) 01, SCS 04, SCA 02, SRI 01, ORM 03, /134 W

O P 282000Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6320  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION GENEVA

SECRET LONDON 13036

REF: LAGOS 13066

- (2)
1. COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT'S ARNOLD SMITH INFORMS US THAT HE SPOKE THIS AFTERNOON WITH BIAFRAN REP IN LONDON, KOGBARA, WHO TOLD HIM NO RPT NO MEMBERS OF BIAFRAN PEACE GROUP HAD RETURNED TO EUROPE YET. HE "HOPED" MOJEKWU WOULD GET TO LISBON TONIGHT OR TOMORROW BUT THIS WAS EVIDENTLY NOT BASED ON ANY FIRM INFO HE HAD OF MOJEKWU'S PLANS. SMITH SAYS THAT TO BEST OF HIS KNOWLEDGE THERE ARE NO IMPORTANT BIAFRANS IN LONDON AT PRESENT TIME.
  2. COMMONWEALTH OFFICE'S MOBERLY (WEST AND GENERAL AFRICAN DEPT) LIKEWISE UNAWARE OF ANY RECENT BIAFRAN RETOURNEES. BRUCE

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37



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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28

SECRET 777

PAGE 01 LAGOS 13067 281334Z

52  
ACTION SS 70

INFO SSO 00, NSCEI 00, DOBE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, 1070 W

PI 281137Z SEPI 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2782  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

S E C R E T LAGOS 13067

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REF: LAGOS 12967

1. VOLKMAR REPORTS HE AND MARTIN SAW GOWON MIDDAY SEPT 26. TO THEIR DISMAY GOWON ATTENDED BY ARIKPO, CHIEF ENAHORO, EKPO AND SEVERAL SENIOR CIVIL SERVANTS. MEETING HAD HOWEVER GONE SMOOTHLY WITH GOWON DOING ALMOST ALL TALKING ON FMG SIDE. VOLKMAR REMARKED HE AND MARTIN THOUGHT GOWON VERY MUCH IN CHARGE.

2. GOWON WAS VERY SKEPTICAL THAT OJUKWU WILLING NEGOTIATE AND PRESSED QUAKERS HARD ON GENERAL ATTITUDE OF REBEL LEADERSHIP AND WHETHER ONYEBULA AND SYLVANUS (NOT IGNATIUS AS REPORTED REFTEL) COOKEY SPOKE FOR OJUKWU. GOWON ALSO SHOWED KEEN INTEREST IN EVIDENCE THAT REBELS PREPARING FOR GUERRILLA WARFARE.

3. UPSHOT WAS THAT GOWON TOLD QUAKERS FMG STILL WILLING TO NEGOTIATE, SAID HE AND HIS ADVISORS WOULD CONSIDER NEXT STEPS AND ASKED VOLKMAR AND MARTIN TO STAND BY UNTIL HE GOT IN TOUCH WITH THEM AGAIN. VOLKMAR BELIEVES GOWON'S CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBLE GUERRILLA WARFARE IMPORTANT FACTOR IN CONTINUED WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE.

4. VOLKMAR SAID HE FORESAW THAT IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH BIAFRANS QUICKLY WHEN HE HEARD FROM GOWON. THIS PROBABLY COULD BE DONE MORE QUICKLY IN EUROPE THAN BY INCREASINGLY

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28

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 13067 281334Z

DIFFICULT FLIGHTS INTO BIAFRA. HE ASKED EMBASSY TO FIND OUT  
WHETHER ANY SENIOR BIAPRANS HAD RETURNED TO EUROPE AFTER CON-  
SULTATIONS WITH OJUKWU AND ASSOCIATES IN UMUHIA. SEPARATE  
TELEGRAM BEING SENT ON THIS.

GP-1

MATHEWS

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L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

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Screeners 41

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MONTHLY COUNT 081

Secretariat

S/S-S 1  
S/S-O 1  
S/S-Screener 3  
S/S-EX 1  
S/S-CMS 1  
S/S-O DIB 1  
MilRep 1  
Summary 1  
Task Force 1

Geographic

AF5 5  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 9  
NEA 7

Other

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR2 1  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2

Functional

CU 1  
E 2  
H 1  
IGA 1  
INR 1  
IO 4  
L 2  
O 3  
OPR 1  
OC 1  
SY 1  
WLG 1  
P 2  
SCA 1  
SCS 1  
SCI 1

PC 1  
VP 1  
AEC 3  
AGR 3  
COM 2  
EXIM 1  
FRB 1  
LAB 1  
NASA 1  
NIC 1  
STR 1  
TRANS 1  
TRSY 6  
JUS 1  
IRS 1  
INT 1  
BOB 1  
FBI 1  
CEA 1  
FAA 1

Principals

ES 1  
S 1  
U 1  
M 1  
G 1  
SIG 1  
S/AH 3  
S/AL 1  
SA 1  
S/CPR 1  
S/GOV 1  
S/IL 1  
S/P 1  
S/R 1  
S/FW 1  
S/PM 1  
M/WP 1  
G/PM 1

OTHER AGENCIES

WH 1  
CIA 1  
DOD 1  
USIA 4  
NSA 1

File 1  
Burned 1

0614

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 959503  
By MM NARA Date 10/5/03



*Pal 27 Biapu-Nigeria*  
*Pal 27-9 Biapu-Nigeria*  
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**

43

47

CONFIDENTIAL 041

PAGE 01 USUN N: 06731 280240Z

84.

ACTION IO 15

INFO: AF 10, EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, AID 28, SAH 02, SR 01,

ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02, E 15, DOT 10, SSR 01, 178 W

R 280140Z SEP 68

FM USMISSION: USUN, NEWYORK

TO SECSTATE, WASHDC 3402

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 6731

NIGERIA

1. USUN RECEIVED LETTER FROM LABOUISSIE (UNICEF) IN SUPPORT OF ICRC REQUEST FOR AIR-DROPPING EQUIPMENT. FOL IS TEXT OF LETTER:

"DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR,

I AM WRITING TO SUPPORT A REQUEST OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS, WHICH I UNDERSTAND THEY HAVE TRANSMITTED THROUGH THE UNITED STATES MISSION IN GENEVA, FOR SOME AIR-DROPPING EQUIPMENT. THE ICRC BELIEVES THAT, IN ADDITION TO THE U.S., NATO ALSO HAS THIS EQUIPMENT. THE ICRC REQUESTS THAT IT BE RELEASED TO THEM FROM EITHER NATO OR THE U.S.

THE EQUIPMENT CONCERNED IS AS FOLLOWS:

100 EACH CARGO PARACHUTES G1-12D  
 64" DIAMETER, COMPLETE WITH CLEVIS  
 FOR DROPPING CARGO CONTAINERS

100 EACH A-22 CARGO CONTAINERS, COMPLETE

CONFIDENTIAL

RECEIVED BY 559

(2)

MSAN 6731 9/28/68

0615

DECLASSIFIED  
 Authority: VND 954503  
 By: MWA Date: 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 06731 280240Z

WITH COVERS AND SUSPENSION STRAPS

30 EACH EXTRACTION PARACHUTES, 15' DIAMETER,  
COMPLETE WITH 60' RELEASE LINES (FOR  
DELAYED FALL OR LARGE LOADS AND KEEPS  
CARGO IN BALANCE). COMPLETE.

60 SETS RELEASE GATES FOR CDS DROPPING  
(TO RELEASE CONTAINER ON TOUCH-DOWN)

I AM REQUESTING YOUR HELP AND SUPPORT OF THIS REQUEST  
BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF INCREASING DELIVERIES OF  
FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES INTO THE WAR-AFFECTED AREAS IN  
NIGERIA IN EXCESS OF WHAT CAN BE LANDED ON THE AIR-STRIPS  
AVAILABLE. THE ABOVE QUANTITIES ARE REQUESTED TO PERMIT  
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS TO BEGIN  
TRIALS WITH AIR DROPPINGS.

THIS LETTER IS IN SUPPORT OF THE SPECIFIC ICRC REQUEST  
MADE THROUGH THE U.S. MISSION IN GENEVA AND IS IN ADDITION  
TO THE MORE FAR-REACHING PROPOSALS CONCERNING C-130  
AIRCRAFT RAISED WITH THE U.S. DELEGATION SOME TIME  
AGO AND WHICH I DISCUSSED WITH YOU ON SEPTEMBER 24 TH.

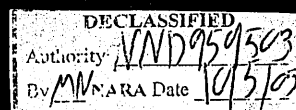
SINCERELY YOURS,  
HENRY R. LABOUISSSE  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR"

2. WOULD APPRECIATE DEPT'S COMMENTS FOR REPLY TO  
LABOUISSSE.

GP-4  
BUFFUM

CONFIDENTIAL

0616



DEPT. DISTRIBUTION  
ORIGIN/AC:IN

AF-5

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

**AIRGRAM**

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

KA POL 3 OAU

RM/R	REP	AF	ARA
1			
EUR	FE	NEA	CU
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INR	E	P	IO
5		2	5
L	FBO	AID	NSA
3		20	17
ARM	S/S	GPM	S/P
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AGR	COM	FRB	INT
LAB	TAR	TR	XMB
AIR	ARMY	NAVY	OSD
5	3	5	34
USIA	NSA	CIA	NSC
10	3	20	6

Original to be Filed in \_\_\_\_\_ Decentralized Files.

FILE DESIGNATION

ATR POUCH  
HANDLING INDICATOR

UNCLASSIFIED

RECEIVED A-568

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

TO : Department of State

OCT 1 10 21 AM 1968

INFO : ABIDJAN, ADDIS ABABA, ALGIERS, LAGOS, LIBREVILLE,  
LONDON, LUSAKA

ANALYSIS BRANCH

FROM : Amembassy DAR ES SALAAM

DATE: September 28, 1968

SUBJECT : Tanzanian Statement of Nigerian Crisis at OAU Summit

REF : Dar 4634

SUGGESTED DISTRIBUTION

Transmitted as an enclosure to this airgram is the text of Tanzanian Second Vice President KAWAWA's statement on the Nigerian problem at the Algiers OAU summit meeting.

Kawawa praises U Thant's statement and then launches into a discussion of the causes of the Nigerian war. He lays most of the blame at the feet of the British, whom he accuses of "perfidy and treachery" in fostering tribalism in Nigeria. He echoes President Nyerere's statements about the justice of the Biafran cause and the humanitarian basis for Tanzania's recognition of the secessionists. He maintains that "unity can only be based on the general consent of the people involved. People cannot be shot into unity."

Kawawa denounces British arms shipments to the Federal Government and accuses the British of being "tricky imperialists." He calls on the Federal authorities to "attach no strings whatsoever to the passage of humanitarian aid to Biafra." He closes by regretting Biafra's absence at Algiers and calls upon the OAU to play a "worthy role" in working out some form of freely-agreed cooperation or unity between Nigeria and Biafra.

BURNS

Enclosure:

Press clipping from the  
Nationalist, 9/20/1968  
entitled 'The Biafran Tragedy'.

POST ROUTING			
TO:	Action	Info.	Initials
AMB/PO			
DCM			
POL			
ECON			
CONS			
ADM			
AID			
USIS			
FILE			

Action Taken:

Date:

Initials:

FORM 10-64 DS-323

UNCLASSIFIED

For Department Use Only

☒ In ☐ Out

Drafted by:

POL:GBRoberts

Drafting Date: 9/20/68

Phone No.:

Contents and Classification Approved by:

POL:GBRoberts

Clearances:

0617

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VND954503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/03



UNCLASSIFIED

September 20, 1968

THE NATIONALIST

# THE BIAFRAN TRAGEDY

WE REPRODUCE BELOW IN FULL, THE STATEMENT MADE TO THE RECENT OAU SUMMIT BY THE HON. R. M. KAWAWA M.P. — SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT ON THE NIGERIA/BIAFRA ISSUE.

FIRST of all, I wish to express the profound gratitude of my delegation to His Imperial Majesty for the report he submitted to the Assembly. Through him I wish to address similar sentiments to the distinguished Presidents who constitute the OAU Consultative Committee on Nigeria. I wish to thank them all for their untiring efforts, striving against great odds in the attempt to find a peaceful solution to this great tragedy.

Tanzania is grateful to have been invited to the Niamey talks. Here, I would like to express special heartfelt thanks to H.E. President Hamani Diori of the Republic of Niger for the most fraternal reception and treatment accorded to the Tanzania delegation which visited Niamey. All those who have been associated with genuine efforts to find a solution to this burning problem deserve our greatest admiration.

Mr. Chairman, it is a well known fact that Tanzania shares the deepest concern over the tragedy which has befallen millions of our fellow Africans. Tanzania shares the greatest anxiety to find a quickest cure for this open wound.

Mr. Chairman, the Nigerian/Biafran tragedy has reached such horrifying proportions now, that practically the whole of humanity is seriously disturbed and is expressing the most profound emotion that man can ever entertain.

## CATASTROPHE

This universal expression of concern over the catastrophe which has shaken the conscious of all mankind, was aptly and symbolically conveyed to this August Assembly of African Heads of State and Government by that exemplary humanitarian, U Thant, the Secretary-General of the United Nations. With his characteristic politeness, humility and unequivocal commitment to uphold the dignity and sanctity of the human person, U Thant called upon Africa to rise and answer the challenge of the hour before it is too late. Innocent men, women and children are starving and dying every passing day by thousands.

Even as we sit here, many innocent victims of this cruel war are making their last futile call for help, before they succumb to untimely death. Secretary-General U Thant alluded most diplomatically to the naked truth that African image has suffered serious reverses as a result of this tragedy.

We in Tanzania have for a long time been convinced that the image of Africa has seriously suffered partly because of the hitherto African failure to bring about an immediate and decisive end to the senseless killings.

The war has continued for well over a year now. In fact it is common saying now that the Nigerian/Biafran conflict might as well have become the greatest human tragedy after the Second World War. This tragedy is now not only for Nigeria, Biafra and Africa but also for the whole of humanity.

This tragic drama has its many deep causes. It appears to us that failure in some quarters to appreciate and recognize the real cause of the tragedy is either due to ignorance or is deliberate. It is easy to try and simplify the problem by overstressing the sanctity of charters, constitutions and territorial boundaries even at the expense of the very existence and survival of men. We must make sure that our revolutionary struggle against colonialism and imperialism follows the correct path and our slogans hit at their appropriate targets.

## OLD COLONIALISTS

In this respect my delegation fully shared H.E. President Kaunda's feelings expressed to this conference.

Mr. Chairman, It is a historical fact that Nigeria was formerly ruled by the British who are to us the greatest of the old colonialists and imperialists. It is a well known fact that the British ruled and left Nigeria with a federal structure. In keeping with the classical policy of "divide and rule," each region was dominated by a particular tribe.

What used to be Eastern Nigeria is predominantly an Ibo region. In keeping with their perfidy and treachery the British imperialists promoted tribalism and tribal hatred wherever they colonized. We know this from practice, since we were also colonized by the British. The British racist or tribalist policies met with varying success in different territories. One of the places where the tribalist policy seems to have succeeded most is unfortunately Nigeria.

Heads of State and distinguished delegates here assembled may have read the statement which advanced the reasons why Tanzania recognized Biafra. My delegation has some copies of the full text. I shall quote a few paragraphs:—

0618

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VND 954503  
By: MNARA Date: 10/3/05

UNCLASSIFIED

"The Declaration of Independence by Biafra on the 30th May, 1967 came after two military coups d'etat — in January and July 1966 — and two major pogroms against the Ibo people. These pogroms, which also took place in 1966, resulted in the death of about 30,000 men, women, and children, and made two million people flee from their homes in other parts of Nigeria to the tribal homeland in Eastern Nigeria.

These events had been interspersed and followed by official discussions about a new constitution for Nigeria, and also by continued personal attacks on individual Ibos who had remained outside the Eastern Region.

The basic cause for Biafra's secession from the Nigerian Federation is that people from the Eastern Region can no longer feel safe in other parts of the Federation. They are not accepted as citizens of Nigeria by other citizens of Nigeria. Not only is it impossible for Ibo and people of related tribes to live in an assurance of personal safety if they work outside Biafra; it would also be impossible for any representative of these people to move freely and without fear in any other part of the Federation of Nigeria.

#### THEIR FEARS

These fears are genuine and deep-seated: nor can anyone say they are groundless. The rights and wrongs of the original coup d'etat, the rights and wrongs of the attitudes taken by different groups in the politics of pre- and post coup Nigeria, are all irrelevant to the fear which Ibo people feel.

And the peoples of Eastern Nigeria can point to too many bereaved homes, too many maimed people for anyone to deny the reasonable grounds for their fears. It is these fears which are the root cause both for the secession, and for the fanaticism with which the people of Eastern Nigeria have defended the country they declared to be independent.

The constitution of the Federation of Nigeria was broken in January 1966 by the first military coup. All hope of its resuscitation was removed by the second coup, and even more by the pogroms of September and October 1966. These events altered the whole basis of the society; after them it was impossible for political and economic relations between the different parts of the old Federation to be restored.

They meant that Nigerian unity could only be salvaged from the wreck of inter-tribal violence and fear by a constitution drawn up in the light of what had happened, and which was generally acceptable to all major elements of the society under the new circumstances. A completely new start had to be made, for the basis of the state had been dissolved in the complete break-down of law and order, and the inter-tribal violence which existed."

In the light of this painful drama which unfolded itself in Nigeria, Tanzania, Africa and the world stood by and watched for many months. The world waited for much too long for the end of what was at first termed a police action. Now it is a full scale war and the declared dates for its end changes from time to time.

The tragedy reached a stage where the waiting was absolutely unbearable. On our part, we decided to recognize Biafra. Apart from the humanitarian basis of our action, we believe our action as well as that of our colleagues from Gabon, Ivory Coast and Zambia have contributed in arousing African and world opinion to this awful calamity.

Tanzania is in agreement with those who make allusions to the deep involvement of colonialists, imperialists, and neo-colonialists in this crisis. The crafty British imperialists have a deep historical responsibility for this tragedy.

Shortly after the official recognition, our President Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere stated that the decision of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania was not an easy one to make. It was a painful decision arrived at after a thorough analysis of the problems involved.

Above all it ought to be emphasized that we have had traditionally very good relations with the Federation of Nigeria and we have always wished that country would remain a single entity. But, unfortunately, circumstances, as well as acts of omission and commission, by the Federal authorities, are entirely responsible for the present state of affairs.

#### GENERAL CONSENT

The position of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania on Unity has never been ambiguous. If we have differed with others on this question, it has been on the method of achieving this Unity. We are firm and unflinching advocates of National Unity as well as Continental Unity. But we uphold that such unity can only be based on the general consent of the people involved. People cannot be shot into Unity.

There cannot be Unity between the living and the dead. Tanzania believes that Unity is vital to the future of Africa. But it must be a Unity that serves the People, and which is freely determined by the people.

The British imperialists are openly contributing to the killings of thousands of innocent men, women and children. It does not matter much to the British since those dying are Africans. The British are involved in every serious tragedy in Africa. In Nigeria their massive arms are used in the war.

In their adventure in the Nigeria/Biafra war, the British have found some odd accomplices. The British are in alliance with the USSR. The British dare not offer arms for the fight against the white racists in Rhodesia and South Africa because "blood is thicker than water". British support for the Nigerian Federal military authorities is universally known. This puts the role of imperialism in the Nigeria/Biafra crisis in its proper perspective.

Or is it understood in some quarters that British imperialism has changed in content and quality and that in fact now British authorities are the vanguard in the struggle against imperialism in Nigeria? Tanzania is certain that the British are the same tricky imperialists wherever they are involved.

#### DECISION

In conclusion Mr. Chairman, let me lay emphasis on what appears to be the obvious. Africa and the world are anxiously waiting for this august Assembly to come out with a frank and clear decision on the Nigeria/Biafra situation. The least they expect from us is a firm decision saying no more starvation and no more killings of innocent people.

This means that relief has to be sent at once and the Federal authorities should show magnanimity by attaching no strings whatsoever to the passage of humanitarian aid to Biafra. And unconditional cease fire must also be declared forthwith.

Then talks on final settlement should be resumed under the auspices of the OAU. Here my delegation would like to express its regret that one of the parties to the dispute Biafra is not present in Algiers. Biafra was rightly represented at Niamey and at Addis Ababa.

Finally "Tanzania would still like to see some form of co-operation or unity between all the people of Nigeria and Biafra. But whether this happens, to what extent, and in what fields can only be decided by agreement among all the people involved." The OAU can still play its worthy role.

Thank you,  
Mr. Chairman and distinguished Heads of State and Government.

0619

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VIND 959503  
By: MN NARA Date: 10/5/05

ORIGIN/ACTION <i>af-5</i>			DEPARTMENT OF STATE		27 <b>AIRGRAM</b> <i>Pal 27 Biafra-Nigeria</i>		FOR RM USE ONLY	
RM/R	REP	AF	A-853		NO.		CONFIDENTIAL	
ARA	EUR	FE	TO :		Department of State		RECEIVED DEPARTMENT OF STATE SEP 27 11 40 AM 1968 RS/AN ANALYSIS BRANCH DATE: <i>RS/B file</i>	
NEA	CU	INR	INFO :		London			
E	P	IO	FROM :		Amembassy LAGOS			
L	FBO	AIO	SUBJECT :		British High Commission Comments on "Biafran" Propaganda			
AGR	COM	FRB	REF :					
INT	LAB	TAR	<p>The Embassy forwards the attached memorandum prepared in the British High Commission in Lagos commenting on "Biafran" propaganda in the United States as reflected in leaflets distributed by the "American Committee to Keep Biafra Alive." The High Commission's comments were occasioned by the threatened boycott of British goods in the United States in retaliation against British policy in Nigeria. The memorandum, prepared on September 18, 1968, suggests that the general "Biafran" propaganda themes "have taken aboard more wind and water in their passage across the Atlantic."</p> <p>Enclosure: Memorandum: British Propaganda.</p> <p>MATHEWS <i>[Signature]</i></p> <p>GROUP 3 - Downgraded at 12-year intervals not automatically declassified</p> <p>CONFIDENTIAL</p> <p>FORM 4-62 DS-323</p>					
TR	XMB	AIR						
ARMY	CIA	NAVY						
OSO	USIA	NSA						
34 10 3								
SEP 27 PM 1 23								
CONFIDENTIAL								
Drafted by: ECON:RKKuchel:kmc 9-23-68			Contents and Classification Approved by: ECON:WGJones <i>William G. Jones</i>					
Clearances:								

0620

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VND 959503  
By: MN/NARA Date: 10/5/05

Enclosure to  
Lagos A- 853

CONFIDENTIAL

In this letter, however, I am not proposing to take up the boycott question, however serious its potential implications could be, but simply to offer a comment on the pro-Biafran propaganda in the States as reflected in the leaflets of the American Committee to Keep Biafra Alive. The general lines of these leaflets reflects those so successfully peddled by the Biafrans in Europe and Africa, but they have taken aboard more wind and water in their passage across the Atlantic. Moreover one gets the impression, judging from the reactions of the Administration to the world-wide pressures with which they are having to cope from statements by Mr. Nixon downwards that, by dint of constant repetition (and, of course, by the failure of Federal propaganda to rebut them) the exaggerations and lies must have gained wide currency as truths. Thus

- (a) that one million have died in the Nigerian civil war. No-one in this country would be so bold as to try to put a figure on overall civil and military casualties and certainly not to take a figure and to add six noughts to it. Our Defence Adviser considers that total fatalities during the civil war have been as follows:-

i) Military

Federals	4,000
Rebels	6,000

ii) Civilians

Casualties	4,000
From malnutrition	10,000

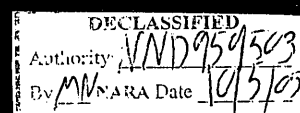
about 25,000 in all

On the assumption that actual fatalities have been three times as numerous as our estimate, we would have a figure of about 75,000 or, at the very outside, 100,000. My personal guess would be that the total might be somewhere between 50,000 and 75,000 though, for obvious reasons, I can present it as no more than an "inspired guess".

- (b) That casualties in the Nigerian civil war already far exceed total deaths in the Vietnam civil war. This is the corollary of (a) and, dependent on what the overall civil and military fatalities are in Vietnam, the statement could be palpably wrong.

CONFIDENTIAL

0621



Enclosure to  
Lagos A- 853  
Page 2

CONFIDENTIAL

- (c) That 6,000 persons are dying every day in "Biafra". Despite the number of eye witness reports from Biafra relating to circumstances in particular areas or refugee camps, I doubt whether the position overall is accurately known even to the Biafran authorities. As these figures are one of the main planks in the Biafran propaganda campaign it is not unreasonable to assume that it is as deliberate an exaggeration as most of the other lines of Biafran propaganda. In any case, the harvest in Biafra is now being garnered and deaths from starvation, pure and simple, are unlikely to be occurring in large numbers at present or during the next few months. Deaths from malnutrition (because the rebels are cut off from their normal supplies of protein food from the North) are undoubtedly occurring, probably more amongst children than adults but on a scale which can only be guessed. It is the view of our experts here that there should at present be no shortage of basic foodstuffs in the rebel territory, and that starvation should not be occurring unless there has been a breakdown in distribution, e.g. by farmers hoarding supplies instead of sending them to local markets. We have in fact had reports that even the protein position is not as serious as had been feared, and that there has been no wholesale slaughter of livestock. My comments on this subject should be read in conjunction with the memorandum on "Food Production in the East Central State" which formed the enclosure to my letter to Patrick Moberly of 24 August which was also copied to Washington.\*
- (d) The report by Christopher Munnion of the massacre of 2,000 persons has been demonstrated to be false by journalists amongst others and is a pure invention of the Biafran propaganda machine which has been churning out allegations of this sort for many months.

BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION  
LAGOS  
18 September, 1968

\* Note: Report forwarded to Mr. Robert Smith, Bureau of African Affairs, AFW.

CONFIDENTIAL

0622

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 954/503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

37



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 722

PAGE 01 LAGOS 13058 272323Z

85

ACTION SS 70

INFO SSO 00, CCO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, /070 W

P 271740Z SEP 68

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2775

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

S E C R E T LAGOS 13058

LIMDIS:

REF: LAGOS 13041 - Pol 27 Biafra Niger  
Y.R. Pol by UK

IN PASSING REFERENCE TO FMG TALKS WITH LORD  
SHEPHERD ABOUT PEACE MOVE BY PARIS BIAFRAN GROUP,  
ARIKPO SAID THIS AFTERNOON THAT FMG BELIEVED  
OUUKWU AND HIS ASSOCIATES HAD REJECTED ADVICE  
PARIS GROUP. HE INDICATED THIS JUDGEMENT BASED  
NOT ONLY ON BIAFRAN RADIO COMMENT BUT ALSO ON  
CONFIDENTIAL REPORTS RECEIVED BY FMG.

GP-3. MATHEWS:

MICROFILMED BY GS/R

SECRET

0623

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VND 954503  
By: MM NARA Date: 10/5/05

Aug 22 13058  
9-27-68

L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screeners

POST Lagos  
SERIAL 13058

(Time Received)

1968 SEP 27 PM 9 13

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT

662

Secretariat

S/S-S 1  
S/S-O 1  
S/S-Screener 3  
S/S-EX 3  
S/S-CMS 3  
S/S-O DIR 3  
MilRep 3  
Summary 3  
Task Force 3

Principals

ES 2  
S 2  
U 2  
M 2  
G 2  
SIG 2  
S/AH 3  
S/AL 3  
SA 3  
S/CPR 3  
S/GOV 3  
S/IL 3  
S/P 3  
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S/FW 3  
S/PM 3  
M/WP 3  
G/PM 3

Geographic

AF5 XS  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 9  
NEA 7

Functional

CU 2  
H 2  
IGA 2  
INR 6  
IO 4  
L 2  
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OPR 2  
OC 2  
SY 2  
WLG 2  
P 2  
SCA 2  
SCS 2  
SCI 2

OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10  
CIA 10  
DOD 10  
USIA 4  
NSA 10

Other

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR 2  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2

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TRANS 2  
TRSY 6  
JUS 2  
IRS 2  
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FAA 2  
File 2  
Burned 2

0624

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VND 954503  
By: MW NARA Date: 10/5/05

37



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 520

PAGE 01 LAGOS 13060 272118Z

83:  
ACTION SS 70

INFO CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, /070 W

O 272048Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2777  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

SECRET LAGOS 13060

LIMDIS:

REF: LAGOS 13041 AND 13058

1. FMG MEETING WITH HC HUNT AND LORD SHEPHERD CONTINUED AFTER DEPARTURE BRITISH. ARIKPO SUBSEQUENTLY TOLD US CONSENSUS FMG GROUP THAT OJUKWU BROADCAST NOT RPT NOT LAST WORD AND MAY STILL BE HOPE REBELS PREPARED ENTER INTO SECRET NEGOTIATIONS.

2. WHEN UKHC AND SHEPHERD INFORMED FOREGOING THEY EXPRESSED GRATIFICATION AS THEY HAD STRESSED THIS POINT WITH FMG GROUP. MATHEWS:

*Handwritten:* Lagos 13060  
9-27-68

*Stamp:* MICROFILMED BY NSA

(1)

SECRET

0625

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VND 959503  
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05



L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screeners

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S/S-Screener 3  
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MilRep  
Summary  
Task Force

Principals

ES2  
S  
U  
M2  
G  
SIG  
S/AH 3  
S/AL  
SA  
S/CPR  
S/GOV  
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Geographic

AF5  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 9  
NEA 7

Functional

CU  
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OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10  
CIA  
DOD  
USIA 4  
NSA

Other

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR 2  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
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0626

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Authority VMD 959503  
By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/09

37



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State  
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POL 7 UK 21

CONFIDENTIAL 071

PAGE 01 LAGOS 13041 271658Z

45  
ACTION SS 70

LORD SHEPHERD

INFO CIAE 00,USIE 00,CCO 00,SSO 00,NSCE 00,1070 W

O 271605Z SEP 68 ZFF4  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2766  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

LAGOS 13041  
9-27-68

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 13041

LIMDIS

NOFORN

SUBJ: VISIT OF LORD SHEPHERD

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF UKHICOM MESSAGE REPORTING FIRST MEETING OF LORD SHEPHERD WITH GOWON ON 26TH.

2. BEGIN TEXT. I HAD A FIRST MEETING WITH GOWON THIS MORNING. FASZVHANDER OVER THE PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER. ARIKPO AND BOTH ENAHORO WERE AMONG THOSE PRESENT.

3. AFTER REVIEWING DEVELOPMENTS SINCE MY PREVIOUS VISIT I TOLD GOWON OF KOGBARA'S APPROACH, AND EMPHASIZED HOW IMPORTANT IT WAS THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE READY TO RESPOND QUICKLY AND CONFIDENTIALLY TO A POSSIBLE BIAFRAN INDICATION OF WILLINGNESS TO MEET IN ORDER TO DRAW UP ARRANGEMENTS FOR AN ORDERLY AND HUMANE TRANSFER OF POWER. WHAT I REVEALED ABOUT WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN THE BIAFRAN CAMP WAS CLEARLY NEWS TO GOWON AND HIS COLLEAGUES. HE ASKED A NUMBER OF PERTINENT QUESTIONS AND THEN ASKED FOR TIME TO CONSIDER THE FEDERAL REACTION WHICH HE WILL GIVE ME AT A FURTHER MEETING, PROBABLY TOMORROW.

4. AFTER THE MEETING I SUGGESTED TO GOWON THAT, SHOULD THE BIAFRANS FAIL TO COME THROUGH SOON WITH A CLEAR UNDERTAKING TO NEGOTIATE A SURRENDER, HE SHOULD CONSIDER MAKING A FURTHER STATEMENT HIMSELF TO THE EFFECT THAT HE IS PREPARED

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3

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

27

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LAGOS 13041 271658Z

TO GUARANTEE THE SAFETY OF THE IBO POPULATION AND TO NEGOTIATE AN ORDERLY AND HUMANE TRANSFER OF POWER IF THE BIAFRANS COME FORWARD TO DO SO ON THE BASIS OF ENDING SECESSION.

5. I ALSO OUTLINED OUT IDEAS ON OBSERVERS, RELIEF, AMNESTY ETC. AND WILL DEVELOP THESE AT SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS.

6. I SHALL BE SEEING LINDT LATER TODAY. END TEXT.

7. COMMENT: UK DEP HICOMER INFORMED AMB LORD SHEPHERD'S REPORT KOGBERA GROUP ACTIVITIES SEEMED TO TAKE GOWON AND ASSEMBLED GROUP BY SURPRISE. FMG PRESS RELEASES PAST FEW DAYS OF POSSIBLE SPLIT IN BIAFRAN RANKS NOT RPT NOT BASED ON INTELLIGENCE OR MEETINGS IN LONDON AND PARIS. ACCORDING SAME SOURCE BRIG EKPO, AYIDA, HAMZAT AHMADU, ASIODU, AND EUUEYITCHE ALSO PRESENT AT DISCUSSIONS. SECOND MEETING LORD SHEPHERD AND GOWON PRESENTLY UNDERWAY.

8. IN MEANTIME, OJUKWU MADE BROADCAST SUMMARIZED IN LAGOS 13030 STATING WAR WOULD CONTINUE. HICOM HAS RECEIVED TELEGRAM FROM LONDON STATING: QUOTE KOGBARA TELEPHONED COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT THIS EVENING AND SAID THAT HE HAD NO PERSONAL MESSAGE BUT HAD RECEIVED TEXT OF A STATEMENT TO BE ISSUED IN BIAFRA TONIGHT GIST OF WHICH WAS THAT THE WAR WAS TO CONTINUE.

9. KOGBARA HIMSELF APPEARED DESPONDENT BUT NEVERTHELESS THOUGHT THAT SEARCH FOR A WAY TO OPEN NEGOTIATIONS OUGHT TO CONTINUE. HE MAY POSSIBLY HEAR MORE DETAILS FROM LISBON TOMORROW. IF HE DOES WE WILL PASS THESE ON. END QUOTE.

GP-3

MATHEWS

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By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

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Summary  
Task Force

Principals

ES 2  
S 5  
U 5  
M 2  
G  
SIG 1  
S/AH 3  
S/AL  
SA  
S/CPR  
S/GOV  
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Geographic

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Functional

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OTHER AGENCIES

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Other

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POL 27 BFA.FRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LONDON 13027 271805Z

52  
ACTION SS: 70

INFO SSO 00, CCO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, /070 W

O P: 271727Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6313  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS: PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI  
USMISSION: GENEVA

SECRET LONDON 13027

LIMDIS

REF: LONDON 12983

1. COPS WILSON (HEAD, WEST AND GENERAL AFRICAN DEPT) TELLS US THAT NO WORD HAS AS YET BEEN RECEIVED FROM LORD SHEPHERD ABOUT HIS RETURN TO LONDON. CO IS PROCEEDING ON ASSUMPTION THAT ASST SECTY PALMER AND PARTY WILL BE HERE FOR TALKS MON AND TUES, WHETHER SHEPHERD HAS RETURNED OR NOT. ACCORDING TO PRESENT SCHEDULE, ENTIRE PARTY WILL BE INVITED TO WORKING LUNCHEON HOSTED BY LORD SHEPHERD OR SIR LESLIE MONSON. ON MON. TALKS WILL FOLLOW AT CO MON AFTERNOON AND, IF NECESSARY, TUES MORNING. C'S ARNOLD SMITH PROPOSES SMALL WORKING LUNCH AT HIS RESIDENCE TUES. THIS WILL BE FOR PURPOSES OF DISCUSSING CURRENT PROSPECTS FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. IN ADDITION TO PALMER, TUES LUNCHEON WOULD INCLUDE TROXEL, ROBERT SMITH, AND COLEMAN, TOGETHER WITH MINISTER KAISER AND STEARNS FROM EMBASSY. IF DEPT THINKS IT DESIRABLE, SEPARATE LUNCH MIGHT BE ARRANGED TUES ON RELIEF PROBLEMS WITH ODM, BRITISH RED CROSS AND OTHER APPROPRIATE BRITISH OFFICIALS. PLEASE ADVISE. BRUCE

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Geographic

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By MWA Date 10/5/03

37



Department of State

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

TELEGRAM

27

CONFIDENTIAL 772

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05888 271103Z

21  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SAH 02, AID 28, SR 01,

ORM 03, RSR 01, /151 W

R 270915Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7168  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
USUN NEW YORK 422

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5888

SUBJ: NIGERIA: NEXT STEP

1. MOFA OFFICIALS WHO ATTENDED ALGIERS CONFERENCE UNAWARE  
EMPEROR'S INTENTIONS RE POSSIBLE FURTHER STEPS FOR OAU COMMISSION  
ON NIGERIA. HIM RETURNED ADDIS LATE SEPT 26 AND EXPECTED OVER  
WEEKEND DEPART ADDIS FOR WEEK'S BREATH IN PROVINCES. MOFA  
MINSTATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS TESFAYE THOUGHT THAT HIM, ON RETURN  
ADDIS, MIGHT ATTEMPT RECONVENE OAU CONCOM TO CONSIDER NEXT MOVES,  
WHICH COULD INCLUDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE BY OAU MEMBER STATES.

2. MOFA CHIEF AFRICAN DEPT MENGISTE DESTA SAID HE UNAWARE ANY  
DISCUSSION, PUBLIC OR PRIVATE, IN ALGIERS OF SPECIFIC, IMMEDIATE  
ACTIONS RE NIGERIA TO BE TAKEN BY OAU OR CONCOM. HE SAID MOST  
DELEGATIONS SEEMED ASSUME POSSIBLE FUTURE OAU ROLE IN RELIEF  
FIELD, BUT ONLY AFTER MILITARY PHASE OVER. MENGISTE HOWEVER  
PERSONALLY SKEPTICAL THAT MOST OAU MEMBERS HAD RESOURCES TO  
MOUNT SIGNIFICANT RELIEF OPERATION. MENGISTE PRESUMED RELIEF  
PROGRAMS OF EUROPEAN AND OTHER NON-AFRICAN COUNTRIES.

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0632

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By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05



Department of State

TELEGRAM

27

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ADDIS 05888 271103Z

WOULD SOON TAKE DEFINITE SHAPE, AND THAT MOST MEMBER STATES WOULD CONSIDER PARTICIPATION BY OAU IN OBSERVER OR ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY IN THESE EXTRA-AFRICAN HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS AS AN APPROPRIATE ROLE FOR THE ORGANIZATION.

3. MENGISTE SAID QUESTION OF IMMEDIATE PARTICIPATION BY OAU IN INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER GROUP TO HIS KNOWLEDGE NOT DISCUSSED AT ALGIERS. HOWEVER IF FMG ISSUED INVITATION, EITHER TO CONCOM OR TO OAU ITSELF, MENGISTE BELIEVED IT WOULD BE ACCEPTED, PROVIDED ACTIVITIES OF OBSERVERS CONSONANT WITH TERMS OF OAU ALGIERS RESOLUTION.

4. MENGISTE REPORTED ROLE OF NON-AFRICANS IN NIGERIA PROBLEM STILL CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE AMONG OAU STATES. WHILE RELIEF SUPPLIES FROM NON-AFRICAN SOURCES ESSENTIAL AND WELCOME, MOST AFRICANS LOATH TO SEE CONTROL, OR SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE, OVER PROBLEM PASS OUTSIDE CONTINENT. ACCORDING MENGISTE, HIM CONSIDERED LARGE CONSENSUS WHICH DEVELOPED FOR OAU NIGERIA RESOLUTION AND CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF CONCOM AS ESSENTIAL TO AFRICA'S RETENTION OF INITIATIVE IN AFRICA'S MOST DIFFICULT CURRENT PROBLEM.

HALL

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



37



POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
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NIGERIA 11

CONFIDENTIAL 841 XR POL 30 AU

PAGE 01 ACCRA 04989 271305Z

51

ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, AID 28, SA 01, SAH 02,

RSR 01, SCS 04, SCA 02, SR 01, ORM 03, /158 W

R 271045Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4820  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USUN NEW YORK 98  
STATE GRNC

CONFIDENTIAL ACCRA 4989

SUBJ: OAU SUMMIT: NIGERIAN WAR

REF: STATE 241962

1. CONSIDERATION THAT APPEARS DOMINATE ANKRAH'S THINKING ON NIGERIAN QUESTION IS GREAT DANGER HE SEES FOR ALL STATES, AFRICAN AS WELL AS NON-AFRICAN, IF RIGHT OF SECESSION BY DISSIDENT MINORITIES IS INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED. HE TOLD ME SEPT 26, WHEN I RAISED SUBJECT, HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND HOW STATES THAT HAVE RECOGNIZED BIAFRA COULD TAKE THIS ACTION IN LIGHT THEIR OWN SEPARATIST PROBLEMS.

(3)

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0634

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

41

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ACCRA 04989 271305Z

2. ANKRAH THOUGHT BIAFRA ON VERGE MILITARY DEFEAT. THIS WOULD BE CLEAR EVEN TO OJUKWU SOON AS UMUAHIA TAKEN BY FMG TROOPS. EVEN IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES BIAFRAN CAUSE LOST AND RESISTANCE CONTINUING ONLY BECAUSE OJUKWU CLUTCHING AT STRAW OF OUTSIDE SUPPORT. ANKRAH THOUGHT SUPPORT NOT ONLY ENCOURAGED SECESSION (HIS MAIN OBJECTION) BUT ALSO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR SUFFERING OF PEOPLE IN BIAFRA.

3. ANKRAH COMPLETELY DISENCHANGED WITH OJUKWU. HE SAID OJUKWU HAD MADE GOOD IMPRESSION IN NEGOTIATIONS AND WAS QUITE ARTICULATE BUT HE HAD NEVER BEEN CONVINCED OJUKWU WILLING OR ABLE FOLLOW THROUGH WITH PRACTICAL STEPS TO RESOLVE ISSUE. HE POINTED TO RADIO ANTENNA JUST OUTSIDE HIS OFFICE AND SAID, EVEN THOUGH HE HAD ESTABLISHED SPECIAL COMMUNICATIONS LINK, OJUKWU HAD NEVER USED IT.

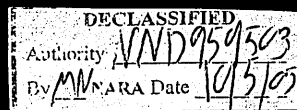
4. ON RELIEF, ANKRAH FELT ONLY PRACTICAL MEASURE WAS FOR ALL DONORS TO MOVE INTO BIAFRA RAPIDLY AS MILITARY RESISTANCE COLLAPSED, ESTABLISH DISTRIBUTION POINTS FOR FOOD AND PARTICULARLY MEDICINES. IN RESPONSE QUESTIONS, HE ACKNOWLEDGED CERTAIN RISK FOR PERSONNEL MANNING DISTRIBUTION POINTS BUT FELT THIS MINIMAL AND BELIEVED DESPERATE NEED FOR FOOD AND MEDICINE WOULD IN FACT BRING PEOPLE OUT OF BUSH QUICKLY. HE ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED RELIEF OPERATION THIS KIND COULD PROCEED ONLY UNDER PROTECTION FMG TROOPS.

5. ON ROLE OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE, ANKRAH THOUGHT IT PROBABLY WOULD BECOME ACTIVE AGAIN. MOST USEFUL ACTIVITY HE THOUGHT WOULD BE TO PRESS FOR KIND OF RELIEF OPERATION HE FAVORS AND AT SAME TIME INSIST ON FMG'S CARRYING OUT OTHER PARTS OF OAU RESOLUTIONN PARTICULARLY AMNESTY, THAT WOULD PERMIT RELIEF OPERATION TO PROCEED. (HE OBVIOUSLY HAD GIVEN THOUGHT TO ROLE COMMITTEE MIGHT PLAY BUT HE AVOIDED SAYING TO WHAT EXTENT HE PREPARED TAKE INITIATIVE.)

6. HE TOOK VERY DIM VIEW OF UN ACTION. BECAUSE HE THOUGHT UN COULD DO NOTHING PRACTICAL OTHER THAN SUPPORT EFFECTIVE RELIEF OPERATION. IF UN LIMITED ITSELF TO SUCH SUPPORT, HE HAD NO STRONG OBJECTION TO UN ACTION. HOWEVER, HE SEEMED CONVINCED GA, ONCE SEIZED OF PROBLEM, WOULD PASS SOME QTE STUPID UNQTE AND UNENFORCEABLE RESOLUTION THAT IN EFFECT WOULD ENCOURAGE SECESSION, HEARTEN OJUKWU, AND PROLONG

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*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

11

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ACCRA 04989 271305Z

SUFFERING NIGERIAN PEOPLE. ON BALANCE, HE WAS OPPOSED  
GA TAKING UP QUESTION. MCELHINEY

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0636

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44



Pol 87 BIAFRA- NIGERIA  
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 Department of State

TELEGRAM

21

CONFIDENTIAL 011

PAGE 01 YAOUNDE 02187 271609Z

51  
 ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,  
 NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, AID 28, SA 01, SAH 02,  
 RSR 01, 148 W

R 270900Z SEP 68  
 FM AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2469  
 INFO USUN NEW YORK 77

CONFIDENTIAL YAOUNDE 2187

CORRECTED COPY (TEXT)

REF: YAOUNDE 2177

1. ON BASIS MY EVALUATION OF FONMIN NKO ETOUNGOU AS PERSON, AND IN LIGHT HIS COMMENTS TO ME REPORTED REFTEL 24 SEPTEMBER, FOLLOWING INDICATES MY ESTIMATE OF KIND OF STATEMENT HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE TO SUPPORT OAU ROLE IN NIGERIAN WAR. I HAVE NO WAY OF KNOWING IF SUCH STATEMENT CONSISTENT WITH PRESENT US POSITION, BUT OFFER IT ONLY AS REFLECTION OF STATEMENT THAT WOULD BE WELCOMED BY IMPORTANT SEGMENT CAMEROONIAN OPINION.

2. QUOTE THE OAU HAS STOOD FIRM IN THE DEFENSE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. THE OAU HAS, AT THE SAME TIME, RECOGNIZED THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS OF THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR, AND HAS ASSIGNED A COMMITTEE OF CHIEFS OF STATE (AT FIRST OVER OPPOSITION OF THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT) TO ASSIST AND ADVISE IN FINDING SOLUTION TO PROBLEM. THIS COMMITTEE HAS SOUGHT TO FIND A COMMON GROUND FOR THE TWO SIDES TO MEET TO RESOLVE THE MAJOR PROBLEMS, AND HAS SOUGHT TO ALLEVIATE THE SUFFERING OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS CAUGHT UP IN THIS TRAGIC WAR. THE VAST MAJORITY OF AFRICAN LEADERS HAS REMAINED UNSHAKEN IN ITS ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND JUSTICE IMPLICIT IN OAU RESOLUTIONS AND ACTIONS.

Yaounde 2187  
 9-27-68

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

21

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 YAOUND 02187 271609Z

EM THE US HAS SHARED THESE POSITIONS WITH THE OAU SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFLICT, AND CONTINUES TO ACT WITHIN THE LIMITS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW TO ASSIST IN ANY WAY IT CAN (A) TO HELP TO RELIEVE THE SUFFERING OF THE VICTIMS OF THE WAR, AND (B) TO HELP TO PERSUADE THE PARTICIPANTS TO FIND POLITICAL SOLUTIONS TO THEIR DIFFERENCES.

4. ONI  
THESE GROUNDS, THE US COMMENDS THE COMBINATION OF LEGAL FIRMNESS AND HUMANITARIAN CONCERN REFLECTED IN THE EFFORTS OF THE OAU TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN AFRICA. THE US REMAINS CONVINCED THAT THE OAU DETERMINATION TO SEEK AFRICAN SOLUTIONS TO AFRICAN PROBLEMS IS IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF AFRICA AND THE WORLD, AND MORE SPECIFICALLY, FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A DURABLE PEACE IN NIGERIA. UNQUOTE.  
PAYTON

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POL 27 Biafra-Nigeria  
Department of State  
**TELEGRAM**

47

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 05726 272135Z

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ACTION USIE 00

INFO EUR 08, P 04, RSR 01, RSC 01, /014 W

R 271528Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9926

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DEPT PASS TO USIA

SUBJ: PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM

REF: STATE 245787 #

1. LATEST ISSUE POC NOT YET RECEIVED HERE.

2. REQUEST AIRPOUCH FIVE COPIES.

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THOMPSON

NOTE: # REFERENCE INCORRECT.

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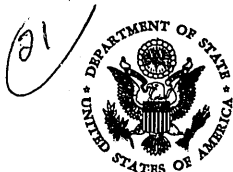
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47

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PAGE 01 ROME 08562 280023Z

88

ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, PI 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SAH 02, SCA 02, SCS 04,

AID 28, E 15, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, 172 W

R 271650Z SEP 68 ZELI  
FM AMEMBASSY ROME  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8342  
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AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (FOR ADDED ADDEE)

SUBJECT: BIAFRA

1. MINISTER MEDICI RESPONDED TO VARIOUS INTERROGATIONS ON BIAFRA IN SENATE SEPT 25. HE EMPHASIZED ITALIAN ANGUISH OVER SITUATION, AND ANNOUNCED NEW 100 MILLION LIRE CONTRIBUTION TO IRC, BRINGING TOTAL ITALIAN GOVERNMENT CONTRIBUTIONS TO IRC AND UNICEF TO 362 MILLION LIRE (\$585,000). MINISTER STATED THAT AID WAS BETTER ATTEMPTED ON INTERNATIONAL THAN ON SINGLE-NATION BASIS, BUT THAT SO FAR VERY LITTLE HAD BEEN ACCOMPLISHED BECAUSE OF "OBSTACLES OF VARIOUS TYPES". ON DIPLOMATIC LEVEL MINISTER THOUGHT ANY ACTIONS TAKEN SHOULD SUPPORT EFFORTS OF OAU "WHICH SHOULD BE THE MOST FITTING INSTRUMENT TO FOSTER RETURN TO PEACE." ITALIAN GOVERNMENT HAD APPROACHED NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT SEVERAL TIMES SINCE APRIL, APPEALED TO AFRICAN CHIEFS OF STATE AT NIAMEY MEETING IN JULY, AND MOST RECENTLY APPROACHED EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA AS HEAD OF OAU COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA. MINISTER ASSURED SENATE THAT ITALY WOULD CONTINUE BOTH DIPLOMATIC AND AID EFFORTS.

2. FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL SEPT 26 SAID ESSENCE OF MINISTER'S STATEMENT WAS THAT ITALY WOULD PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT BUT INTENDED NO POLITICAL ACTION AND IN

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PAGE 02. ROME 08562 280023Z

FACT SAW NOTHING FOR EUROPEANS TO DO ON POLITICAL PLANE.

DECON: 9/28/73.

ACKLEY

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



37



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

23

CONFIDENTIAL 104

PAGE 01 LAGOS 12993 261446Z

50

ACTION SS: 70

INFO CIAE 00, 070 W

R 261112Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2735  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 12993

LIMDIS

SUBJ: RUMORED FMG ACTION AGAINST LOOTERS' ACCOMPLICES.

1. RUMORS, POWERED BY AT LEAST A FEW FACTS, ARE CIRCULATING IN BENIN CITY TO THE EFFECT THAT THE FEDERAL ARMY OVER WEEKEND SHOT A NUMBER OF WOMEN, MOSTLY FROM THE MID-WEST, FOR DEALING IN STOLEN OR LOOTED GOODS.

2. DURING RECENT VISIT BY EMBOFF TO MID-WEST, FAIRLY RELIABLE SOURCE SAID HE PERSONALLY HAD SEEN NINETEEN FEMALE BODIES IN BENIN CITY MORGUE. STORY CIRCULATING THERE IS THAT WOMEN CAMP FOLLOWERS HAD BEEN RECEIVING SPOILS OF WAR FROM FMG TROOPS, SELLING THEM IN MID-WEST, USING PROCEEDS TO BUY ITEMS (E.G., SALT) WHICH IN SHORT SUPPLY NEAR FRONT, AND RETURNING TO LIVE WITH TROOPS AND RECOMMENCE THE CYCLE. AFTER SEVERAL STERN WARNINGS THAT CONTINUATION THESE PRACTICES WOULD BRING GTE GRAVE CONSEQUENCES, UNOTE WOMEN NEAR FRONT APPARENTLY ROUNDED UP, IDENTIFIED BY HOME TOWN, AND SHOT IN ONITSHA WEEKEND 22-23 SEPT. BODIES THEN REPORTEDLY RETURNED TO HOME TOWNS.

3. THIS STORY IN ITS ESSENTIALS HAS ALSO COME TO ATTENTION OF THE BRITISH DEPUTY HICOM BENIN CITY WHO INCLINED BELIEVE IT BASICALLY TRUE, AS WELL AS THAT AFTER DUE WARNING SOME WERE SHOT. BRITISH HAVE INFO YORUBA AND ASABA WOMEN HEADED WARNING, BUT BENI, ITSEKERI AND URHOBODI DID NOT AND SUFFERED CONSEQUENCES. BODIES ALSO ALLEGEDLY SENT BACK TO WARRI AND SAPELE.

4. STORY CIRCULATING THROUGH MID-WEST AND WILL PROBABLY SURFACE IN PRESS IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER.

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23

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LAGOS 12993 261446Z

5% COMMENT: FMG RATIONALE FOR THIS ACTION IS THAT FREE-  
ENTERPRISING FEMALES INTERFERING WITH SECOND DIVISION EFFORTS  
MOUNT OFFENSIVE SOUTH OF ONITSHA (MANY FMG TROOPS LIVING WITH  
WOMEN IN SEMI-PERMANENT BILLETTS), INCREASING DESERTION RATE,  
AND ENGAGING IN TRAFFIC IN STOLEN GOODS. THIS JUSTIFICATION  
WOULD OF COURSE RECEIVE LITTLE SYMPATHY FROM WORLD PRESS  
SHOULD STORY BREAK. IF STORY ESSENTIALLY TRUE, REASON WHY  
ARMY PUNISHED WOMEN INSTEAD OF TROOPS WOULD PROBABLY REMAIN  
INEXPLICABLE OUTSIDE NIGERIAN CONTEXT.

GP-3

MATHEWS

CONFIDENTIAL

85

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By	MM NARA Date 10/5/99

L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screeners

POST

SERIAL

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1968 SEP 26 PM 12 28

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MONTHLY COUNT 597

Secretariat

Geographic

Other

S/S-S  
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S/S-Screeners  
S/S-EX  
S/S-CMS  
S/S-O DIR  
MilRep  
Summary  
Task Force

AF5  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 9  
NEA 7

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR 2  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2

Functional

Principals

ES2  
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CU  
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OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10  
CIA  
DOD  
USIA  
NSA

File  
Burned

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Authority VND 959/503  
By NARA Date 10/5/03

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SYSTEMATIC REVIEW WITHDRAWAL CARD NO. 70L 50-19

DATE: 9/26/68 MSG NO.: 2019 TYPE: TE

FROM: Lisbon TO: State

SUBJECT: Biafra Airlift Developments

DOCUMENT ORIGINATOR: DEPT. OF STATE: ✓ OTHER:       

BASIS FOR WITHDRAWAL:

✓ CONTAINS NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION

       OTHER LAW OR REGULATION

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By: MV NARA Date: 10/5/05

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

YK POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SECRET

YK 0 D G 7 AF  
336

LONDON-12993  
9-26-68

PAGE 01 LONDON 12983 261728Z

43

ACTION SS 70

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, /070 W

O R 261645Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6277  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI  
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T LONDON 12983

LIMDIS

REF: STATE 245111-  
*Pass 2. 980000-200000  
XL  
Per 16 to GUN*

MODIFIED BY 154

1. COMMONWEALTH OFFICE PLEASED TO RECEIVE ASST SECTY PALMER AND HIS GROUP ON MONDAY, SEP 30 FOR DISCUSSIONS ON NIGERIAN SITUATION. LORD SHEPHERD (ACCOMPANIED BY TEBBIT) IS STILL IN LAGOS AND EXACT DATE OF HIS RETURN TO LONDON WILL DEPEND ON PROGRESS HIS TALKS WITH FMG. CO'S SIR LESLIE MONSON (DEPUTY UNDERSECRETARY) HAS CABLED SHEPHERD TO ADVISE HIM OF PALMER'S PROPOSED VISIT AND SOLICIT HIS VIEWS. CO WOULD, OF COURSE, PREFER TO HAVE BENEFIT OF SHEPHERD'S VIEWS AND RECOMMENDATIONS BEFORE DISCUSSING SITUATION WITH PALMER. MONSON AND JOHN WILSON (NEWLY ARRIVED HEAD WEST AND GENERAL AFRICAN DEPT) THINK IT LIKELY SHEPHERD WILL RETURN OVER WEEKEND. IF HE IS NOT BACK BY MONDAY, AND DEPT WISHES ADHERE TO TIMING GIVEN REFTEL, BRITISH WILL MAKE BEST OF SITUATION AND CONDUCT TALKS WITH PALMER IN SHEPHERD'S ABSENCE.

2. PROVISIONAL PROGRAM OF TALKS PROPOSED BY CO CALLS FOR WORKING LUNCH MONDAY (HOSTED BY LORD SHEPHERD IF HE IS HERE) FOLLOWED BY AFTERNOON MEETINGS WITH RESPONSIBLE UK OFFICIALS. THESE MEETINGS COULD BE CONTINUED TUES MORNING IF NECESSARY. WE HAVE DISCUSSED PALMER VISIT WITH COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT AND ARNOLD SMITH, YAW ADU, AND OTHER SENIOR OFFICIALS ARE EXPECTED TO BE AVAILABLE TUES AFTERNOON. CS WILL CONFIRM THIS WITH US AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.  
BRUCE

SECRET

3

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By: MVA/RA Date: 10/5/05

L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

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SERIAL 12983

1969 SEP 26 PM 2 39

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S/S-S 1  
S/S-O 1  
S/S-Screener 33  
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S/S-O DIR  
MilRep  
Summary  
Task Force

Principals

ES 2 ✓  
S 4  
U 4  
M 2  
G 4

SIG 1  
S/AH 3  
S/AL  
SA  
S/CPR  
S/GOV  
S/IL  
S/P 1  
S/R 1  
S/FW  
S/PM  
M/WP  
G/PM 1

Geographic

AF5 5  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 9  
NEA 7

Functional

CU  
E 2  
H 1  
IGA  
INR 6  
IO4 4  
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O 3  
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OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10 10  
CIA 1  
DOD  
USIA 4  
NSA

Other

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR 2  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2

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AGR 3  
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By: MM NARA Date: 10/5/05

34



*Pol 27 Biafra - Nigeria*  
*XR Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

*4p*

CONFIDENTIAL 602

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 02654 262010Z

91  
ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00, /070 W

R 261354Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3220  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USUN 346

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA, 2654

SUBJ: NIGERIAN WAR

REF: STATE 241962

MODIFIED BY R/S

*Pol 27 Biafra - Nigeria*  
*XR Pol 3 OAU*  
*Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria*

1. DURING CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA TODAY I ASKED IF HE HAD ANY THOUGHTS ON NEXT STEPS FOR MOVING RELIEF SUPPLIES INTO NIGERIA, REMINDING HIM OF OUR CONTINUING AND INTENSE CONCERN. HE DESCRIBED SITUATION AS EXTREMELY COMPLEX AND HAD LITERALLY NOTHING TO OFFER. HE SAID THE MATTER WAS PRINCIPALLY UP TO BIAFRA'S LEADERS, AND HE WAS NOT AWARE OF THEIR PLANS. IF THEY DECIDE TO TRY TO HOLD OUT (HE STRONGLY IMPLIED HE FELT THEY HAD LITTLE CHOICE), THE MOVEMENT OF RELIEF SUPPLIES WOULD REMAIN DIFFICULT. IF THEY SURRENDERED, THEN THE MATTER WOULD BE QUITE DIFFERENT.

2. RESPONDING TO QUERY ABOUT UN ROLE, KAUNDA SAID HE FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE COULD BE PLAYED GIVEN "UN'S PRESENT VIEW", A CLEAR REFERENCE TO U THANT'S B-LAGOS POSITION. (JUDGING FROM HIS MOOD I WOULD NOT ANTICIPATE A UN INITIATIVE FROM KAUNDA.)

3. I CLOSED BY REITERATING OUR PROFOUND CONCERN AND

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*9/26/68*

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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 02654 262010Z

SAID THAT SHOULD HE HAVE ANY IDEAS RELATIVE TO  
EXPEDITING DELIVERY OF RELIEF SUPPLIES WE WOULD BE  
PLEASED TO RECEIVE THEM.

4. COMMENT. I AVOIDED ASKING HIM TO SPECULATE ABOUT  
NEXT MOVES OF OAU OR RAISING AGAIN POSSIBILITY OF  
INTERVENTION WITH BIAFRANS TO PURSUE MORE  
REALISTIC POLICY AS FEELINGS HERE ARE SIMPLY SO  
TENDER THAT ANY SUCH APPROACH WOULD ELICIT ONLY  
RESENTMENT.  
GOOD

NOTE: HANDLED LIMDIS PER S/S-O.

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Date	10/5/05



L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

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MilRep  
Summary  
Task Force

Geographic

AF5 5  
ARA 9  
EAL  
EUR 9  
NEA 7

Other

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR 2  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2

Functional

CU  
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IGA  
INR 6  
IO 4  
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Principals

ES 2  
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AEC 3  
AGR 3  
COM 2  
EXIM  
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NASA  
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TRSY 6

SIG 1  
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OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10  
CIA P  
DOD  
USIA 4  
NSA

File  
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0650

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 208

PAGE 01 LAGOS 12996 261545Z

43  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,  
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03,  
SCA 02, SCSE 00, SAH 02, RSR 01, 153 W

R 261215Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2737  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDISABABA  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA UNN  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

UNCLAS LAGOS 12996

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP: SEPTEMBER 26

1. BIAFRAN QTE HAWKS VS. DOVES UNQTE: SKETCH, POST  
OBSERVER AND TIMES CARRY STORIES BASED ON FMG PRESS RELEASE OF SEPT  
25 REPORTING ALLEGED MEETINGS OF BIAFRAN LEADERSHIP ARGUING QUESTIO  
OF SURRENDER, NEGOTIATIONS OR CONTINUED FIGHTING (LAGOS 12970). IN  
ADDITION, SKETCH REPORTS THAT AZIKIWE HAS BEEN IN PARIS SINCE HIS D  
-PARTURE FROM LONDON QTE TO DECIDE HIS NEXT LINE OF ACTION UNQTE BE  
-CAUSE OF TIGHTENING OF MG RING AROUND REMAINING PARTS OF BIAFRA.  
SKETCH AND NEW NIGERIAN ALSO REPORT THAT OUUKWU STILL IN MUAHIA BUT  
LIKE OTHER REBEL LEADERS MAKING PLANS TO GET OUT. TRIBUNE HAS  
EDITORIAL QTE LOSING HONORABLY UNQTE ON REPORTED SPLIT IN REBEL LEA  
-ERSHIP. EXPRESSES HOPE THAT THOSE WHO FAVOR END TO HOSTILITIES  
WILL CONVINCE OTHERS OF FUTILITY OF FIGHTING TO THE END OR  
ESTABLISHING GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE. SAYS THAT GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE IS

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

27

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 12996 261545Z

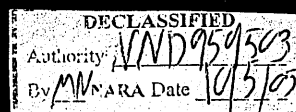
AN ADMISSION OF DEFEAT UNLESS ABLE TO TAKE ALL EIGHT MILLION IBOS WITH LEADERS TO QTE ESTABLISH NEW COLONY IN GABON. UNQTE SINCE THIS CANNOT BE DONE QTE IT WILL BE MORALLY INDEFENSIBLE FOR THEM TO DESERT THEIR PEOPLE AFTER LEADING THEM TO THIS DISASTER. UNQTE STATES THAT IF REBEL LEADERS SEE QTE COMMONSENSE UNQTE AND CALL END TO WAR THEY WILL NOT BE FIRST FIGHTERS TO SURRENDER HONORABLY. QTE EVEN MOST INVETERATE ENEMY OF IBO PEOPLE ADMITS THEY HAVE SHOWN GREAT COURAGE IN FACE OF FEARFUL ODDS...THEY WILL REQUIRE AS MUCH COURAGE TO UNDO DAMAGE OF PAST FIFTEEN MONTHS AS THEY HAVE DISPLAYED IN THIS WAR. BUT THEY CAN AT LEAST HAVE ASSURANCE THAT OTHER NIGERIANS WAITING WITH OPEN ARMS TO RECEIVE THEM BACK INTO FOLD. UNQTE

2. LORD SHEPHERDS VISIT: TIMES, POST, NEW NIGERIAN AND SKETCH REPORT ARRIVAL OF LORD SHEPHERD SEPT 25 AND STATEMENTS AT AIRPORT. MAIN POINTS WERE THAT BRITISH PEOPLE NOW HAD BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF NIGERIA SITUATION, THAT BRITAIN, AFTER TWO WORLD WARS IN FIFTY YEARS, QTE FED UP WITH WARS. LIKE OTHER PEACE-LOVING NATIONS, BRITAIN THEREFORE NOW SEEKS WAYS OF SORTING OUT DIFFERENCES WITHOUT RECOURSE TO FIGHTING. UNQTE SAID THIS PURPOSE IN VISIT WAS QTE TO KEEP IN CLOSEST TOUCH AND CONSIDER EACH OF OUR PROBLEMS TOGETHER. UNQTE IN ANSWER TO QUESTION, HE SAID ARMS SUPPLIES WAS NOT QTE KEYNOTE OF VISIT. UNQTE

3. ITALY: POST EDITORIAL TITLED QTE TO ITALY: A FRIENDLY WARNING UNQTE SAYS THAT REBEL AGENTS MAKING DESPERATE LAST MINUTE CONTACTS FOR HELP, QTE PARTICULARLY DANCING AROUND THOSE WHO CONTROL MASS COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA IN ITALY. UNQTE SAYS THAT IT BELIEVES ITALIAN MEDIA RUN BY RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE, QTE INTELLIGENT ENOUGH TO SPOT FALSE PROPAGANDA. UNQTE EVERYONE HAS RIGHT TO HOLD ANY VIEW ON ANY ISSUE BUT THEY SHOULD BE SURE TO HEAR BOTH SIDES. STATES THAT WAR IS TO KEEP NIGERIA TOGETHER AND NOT RELIGIOUS WAR AND IT WOULD BE WRONG FOR ITALIANS TO BACK REBELS ON RELIGIOUS GROUND. SINCE WAR NEARLY OVER NIGERIANS TO PARTICULARLY WORRIED ABOUT QTE NEW ENTHUSIASM WITH WHICH ITALIAN PRESS AND RADIO PEDDLE REBEL FALSE PROPAGANDA. WE FEEL, HOWEVER, THAT IT IS OUR DUTY TO WARN ITALIAN PRESS AND PEOPLE UNQTE NOT TO LEAD THEIR GOVERNMENT ASTRAY WITHOUT WEIGHING CONSEQUENCES. ITALIAN CONTRACTORS AND BUSINESS DOING WELL IN NIGERIA QTE WHEN IN FACT OUR COUNTRY GETS LITTLE OR NOTHING IN RETURN. UNQTE THOSE WHO PEDDLE PROPAGANDA MUST BE PREPARED TO TAKE FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR CONSEQUENCES OF QTE ANY UNFRIENDLY ACTIONS WHICH ITALIAN GOVERNMENT MAY TAKE AGAINST FMG. WORD IS ENOUGH FOR WISE AND WE TRUST THERE

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

27

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 12996 261545Z

ARE WISE MEN EVEN IN ITALY. UNQTE

4. REHABILITATION: POST FEATURES STATEMENTS BY NIGERIAN RE AT COMMONWEALTH FINANCE MINISTERS MEETING THAT COST OF REHABILITATION WILL PROBABLY BE £100 MILLION, AT LEAST HALF OF WHICH MUST BE COSTS IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE WHICH NIGERIA WILL HAVE TO EARN WITH INCREASED DOMESTIC PRODUCTION FOR SALE ABROAD. POST, OBSERVER AND NEW NIGERIAN REPORT CALL BY NATIONAL REHABILITATION COMMISSIONER, T. OMO-BARE, TO NIGERIAN YOUTH TO BE PREPARED TO SERVE IN NATIONAL RELIEF CORPS SOON TO BE ESTABLISHED BY FMG.

5. GABON-BIAFRA: OBSERVER CARRIES REPORT BY QTE OUR OVERSEAS CORRESPONDENT UNQTE STATING THAT HE HAD TALKED WITH BROTHER-IN-LAW OF OJUKWU, CHRISTOPHER ONYEKWELA, IN LIBREVILLE AIRPORT ON SEPT 24. SAYS THAT ONYEKWELA FLEW IN FROM PARIS TO ANSWER CALL TO RETURN TO BIAFRA FOR CONFERENCES. REPORTER SAYS THAT ONYEKWELA CONFIRMED THAT OJUKWU PLANNING GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE IN LIBREVILLE WHEN UMUAHIA ABANDONED OR TAKEN BY FMG, AND PIERRE MEBALEY, GABONESE MINISTER OF INFORMATION ACTING AS INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN FRENCH AND FOUR AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHO RECOGNIZE BIAFRA. STATES THAT MOST NIGHT FLIGHTS NOW USE QTE ANOTHER AIRSTRIP CLOSE TO UMUAHIA UNQTE SINCE LOSS OF OBILAGUI AND DANGER INVOLVED IN USING ULI-ITHALA AND THAT FLEET OF 14 CARGO PLANES USED TO CARRY SUPPLIES AND ARMS INTO BIAFRA. MATHEWS

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0653

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MNARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 894

PAGE 01 LAGOS 12992 261146Z

43  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00,  
GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25  
RSR 01, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, SCA 02, SCS 04, SAH 02, /143 W  
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O R 261115Z SEP 68 ZFF4  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2734  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 12992

1. CANADIAN COUNSELOR HERE (PROTECT) SAYS SHARPI HAS ASSURED  
NIGERIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER IN OTTAWA THAT CANADA WILL NOT  
TAKE INITIATIVE AT UNGA ON NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR.

2. COUNSELOR ALSO REMARKED THAT CANADIANS FINDING MUCH  
GREATER UNDERSTANDING FOR THEIR DILEMMA WITHIN NIGERIAN  
MISSION TO UN THAN IN LAGOS.

GP-3

MATHEWS

CONFIDENTIAL

0654

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Authority VND 954503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05

ORIGIN/ACTION

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

97 **AIRGRAM**

Pol 27 BiA FRA-Nigeria

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RA/R	REP	AF
1		
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NEA	CU	INR
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AGR	COM	FRB
INT	LAB	TAR
TR	XMB	AIR
		5
ARMY	CIA	NAVY
3	20	5
OSD	USIA	NSA
34	10	3
		15C
		6

A-152

CONFIDENTIAL

TO : Department of State

INFO : ADDIS ABABA, KADUNA, LAGOS

FROM : Amconsul IBADAN

SUBJECT : Views of Top Western Nigerian Civil Servant

REF :

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ANALYSIS BRANCH

DATE: September 26, 1968

## SUMMARY

In a conversation with the reporting officer, Mr. Peter Odumosu, Western Nigeria's top civil servant, gave his views on the Nigerian peace talks in Addis Ababa, and on Federal-state relations in post-war Nigeria. In brief, he thought that Nigerian agreement in principle to an airlift of relief supplies into Biafra had been a turning point in winning Nigeria the sympathy of Emperor Haile Selassie and the OAU and that the present pattern of Nigerian Federal-state relations should be regarded as transitional rather than permanent.

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1. On September 24th I called on Mr. Peter T. Odumosu (protect), Head of the Western Nigeria Civil Service, and Secretary to the Military Government, for a general discussion of current developments. It was my first call on him since his return from the peace negotiations in Addis Ababa where he served as an adviser on the Federal Nigerian delegation.

2. Addis Ababa Peace Talks: Mr. Odumosu felt that the "Biafran" delegation was not really prepared to negotiate a peace settlement, as they insisted on "Biafran" sovereignty, "which they must have known was the one thing we could not accept." When the discussions moved to the issue of getting relief supplies to the war victims, the "Biafrans" also could not compromise "as they would have deprived themselves of their principal propaganda weapon." From the point of view of the Federal

## GROUP-3

Downgraded at 12-year intervals,  
not automatically declassified.

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FORM 4-62 DS-323

Drafted by: CCSpang:gor 9/26/68

Contents and Classification Approved by:

Clearances:

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By: MN/ARA Date: 10/5/05

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2

delegation, the turning point in the talks came when the Emperor requested them to agree in principle to an airlift of relief supplies into "Biafra." He said the Federal delegation was deeply split on this issue; however, the "doves" (he named Asika, Akilu and himself), after two days of argument, won over a majority of the delegation to the view that the FMG should be asked to reconsider its position, balancing the political advantages of agreeing against the military disadvantages. Their main argument was that it was vital for the FMG to have the support of the Emperor and that he attached great importance to obtaining FMG agreement on this point. According to Odumosu, the Emperor was very pleased when the FMI did agree. While the "Biafrans" for their part agreed in principle to a land corridor, their agreement was hedged with such substantive reservations that the Emperor was persuaded that the FMG was taking the more reasonable position. This affected the tone of the Emperor's report to the OAU and contributed to the eventual support of the Federal position by the OAU.

3. Federal-State Relations: Odumosu, in reviewing the mistakes that had led to the civil war, thought that one of the major ones was Ojukwu's failure after the Aburi Conference in January 1967 to agree to Decree No. 8, under which he would have had virtual internal autonomy for the entire Eastern Region. He added that some of Ojukwu's advisers (he named Lt. Col. Hilary Njoku) had advised him not to secede when he did on the grounds that he was not ready. Instead he should wait two or three years and use his powers under Decree No. 8 to strengthen his position in the East to a point where he could dictate the terms on which he would stay in the Federation or get out. (Odumosu appeared to think this would have been sensible, possibly because under this formula the West would have retained similar autonomy.) However, Ojukwu had not listened to these advisers, (in fact, he had detained some of them) and had gone ahead with secession.

I commented that one consequence seems to have been a very different kind of Nigerian federation. Instead of strong regional governments and a relatively weak central government, what appeared to be developing was a relatively strong central government and weaker state governments. Odumosu said he thought it was too early to say what pattern of Federal-state relations would evolve. In his view the trouble was that "the military boys" did not have sufficient experience to govern effectively, nor to anticipate the problems that would arise under the new Federal structure. Nor were they taking the advice of the most experienced politicians (read Awolowo) or of the most experienced civil servants. The most experienced Permanent Secretaries in the Federal Government were Atta (Finance), Lawson (Communications) and Tokunboh (Establishments). (Comment: Only one of these - Lawson - is a Yoruba.) But none of these

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MVA/ARA Date 10/5/03

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3

were in the inner circle of PermSecs who were really running the Federal Government. The latter were younger, less experienced, ambitious men like Ayida (Economic Development) and Asiodu (Industries) (Comment: Both are Mid-Westerners.) These men were going beyond the proper role of civil servants, which was to advise, not to govern. A stronger Secretary to the Federal Government would have insisted that they stick to their civil service functions and referred questions to the Federal Executive Council for decision, but this was not the way the FMG was being run. This system was not working efficiently and there were bound to be increasing problems and increasing dissatisfaction. The "military boys" would in time be obliged to return to more experienced civilian rule, under which the civil servants would have to resume their proper role.

When I asked him whether the spate of problems that would follow the military phase of the civil war - e.g., re-establishing Federal control over the East Central State, reconstruction, re-absorbing demobilized troops, resurgent tribal politics, etc. - might not result in continued military rule for some time to come, he agreed this might happen for a time but he thought difficulties would pile up and eventually force a change. There was, for example, the serious financial plight of most of the new states and their shortage of trained personnel - problems which the FMG, with its own financial difficulties, would be unable to help them solve. There was the problem of satisfying the expectations of soldiers returning from the combat areas, who would become increasingly resentful if little or nothing was done for them while the military governors enjoyed all the perquisites of high position. There was the fact that solid planning for future development was being neglected while PermSecs who should be taking the lead in this field were constantly out of the country on diplomatic, negotiating or public relations missions (e.g., Ayida).

Odumosu said he did not feel that the present style of government or the current pattern of Federal-State relations could last for very long after the end of the military phase. It should therefore be regarded as a transitional rather than a firmly established pattern.

He said he knew that the inner circle of Federal PermSecs was trying to consolidate power in Lagos. Whereas Federal approval of State-approved projects had formerly been quickly forthcoming, there were now long delays (e.g., Ibadan water supply loan amendment, Western Peace Corps requests). The new AID organization under which AID projects in the West would be supervised from Lagos was just what these Federal PermSecs wanted. However, he thought it was wrong that a few civil servants should make policy judgments on the organization of a foreign government's activities in Nigeria. This was the sort of question that should be referred to the Federal Executive Council but, as far as he was aware, it had not. Moreover, he did not believe that administering AID in the Western State from

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By	MVA
DATE	10/5/03



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4

Lagos was going to work as well as having a man on-the spot. I said that I thought the new system should be given a chance - to see how it would work in practice. He agreed and said he could see why foreign governments would feel they had to fit their activities into the pattern desired by the Federal Government but he did not think they should regard the present pattern as permanent. For the present, he and like-minded Western Yorubas were watching to see how the Federal-state and military-civilian relationships would develop. He personally felt that the military regime should, as soon as possible, appoint a transitional civilian regime which would carefully examine the problems of the new federal structure. These would eventually be thrashed at a constitutional conference.

4. Comment: While Mr. Odumosu's biases are obvious, I do not believe his comments should be dismissed as merely typical Western Yoruba sensitivity toward Lagos or personal jealousy of junior colleagues now in positions of greater power. These are presumably factors in his attitude but he is a serious-minded top civil servant whose honesty and bluntness are something of a legend in the Western State Civil Service. His loyalty to the Federal Government position on the civil war has been demonstrated both at the Uppsala Conference of the World Council of Churches and the Addis peace talks. He is, moreover, strongly committed to the British tradition of a non-political civil service and professionally concerned with efficiency and probity in government. Thus, I think his concern over the capacity of the present military government to anticipate and cope with post-war problems and his fear of serious problems if they do not make more use of experienced civilians is genuine. He feels that military government is and must be accepted in Western Nigeria and the rest of the country as a necessity, but as problems multiply and as the more dramatic armed struggle is replaced by the frustrating problems of making the new federal structure work, there will have to be a change.

It appears to me that the military/civil servant group that now runs the FMG will be faced with two alternatives. They can try to hang on to the power and the problems or they can move into the background and towards a more orthodox sharing of both with the politicians supported by the civil service. If the present system drifts on indefinitely, perhaps because of preoccupation with day-to-day problems, it may be true, as Odumosu fears, that the country's underlying problems will build up to a point where some change is required. It is evident that Odumosu favors a return to reformed civilian government but, though he did not say so, there is also the alternative of a tightening of military rule. Whichever course is taken, Mr. Odumosu's views reflect the feeling among thoughtful Yorubas here that Nigeria is moving into a period of continuing political and constitutional uncertainty.

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*Intelligence*  
*Note* - 757

September 26, 1968

To : The Secretary  
Through: S/S  
From : INR - Thomas L. Hughes *tlm*

*✓*  
*OJUKWU*

Subject: Will Biafra Seek to Negotiate a Surrender?

A small group of influential Ibo leaders believes that further Biafran resistance is useless and are preparing to challenge Ojukwu's hard-line policy. A showdown could come within a few days when the Biafran Consultative Assembly is expected to review military and political strategy.

Many Hawks... Though powerful Federal Nigerian forces seem on the verge of overwhelming Biafra's ill-equipped army and occupying the few thousand square miles still under Biafran control, many Ibos seem determined to fight on regardless of the human cost. The Biafran army remains intact and Biafran leader Ojukwu may still cling to the hope that massive outside assistance (perhaps from France) could turn the tide of battle. Moreover, he has vowed to fight a guerrilla war even after the rebel army is no longer able to hold territory. If he carries through on his vow, he must hope that the countries recognizing Biafra (Ivory Coast, Gabon, Tanzania, and Zambia) will, with French support, infiltrate aid to the guerrillas, and perhaps provide a base for a Biafran government in exile that would attempt to direct continued Ibo resistance and keep the spark of Biafran independence alive.

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...and Some Important Doves. However, an influential group of Ibo leaders now serving overseas--including former Nigerian President Azikiwe--is convinced that Ojukwu has no hope of attracting massive foreign intervention. They believe that Biafra has already lost the war and should seek the most favorable surrender terms in order to prevent further needless suffering. Azikiwe and others say they are prepared to confront Ojukwu and his domestic advisors. Conceivably they might try to seize power with the aid of army officers--some of whom probably share the belief that further resistance is useless.

Showdown. Ojukwu has almost certainly convoked the Biafran Consultative Assembly, a prestigious advisory body that has met infrequently and only when crucial decisions were about to be announced. The Assembly has in the past strongly supported Ojukwu's leadership, and if he uses it to cement support for a hard line on negotiations, he is likely to succeed. The meeting would, however, provide an opportunity for the doves to challenge Ojukwu and propose negotiations on the basis of a return to the Nigerian fold. Ojukwu himself--despite the tough position he has consistently maintained to date--may propose a change in policy. In either event, a showdown between hawks and doves could come within the next few days.

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DEPT. DISTRIBUTION				DEPARTMENT OF STATE		FILE DESIGNATION	
ORIGIN/ACTION				Original to be Filed in _____ Decentralized Files.		Pol 7 zambia	
AF-5				<b>AIRGRAM</b>		XR Pol 15-12 zambia	
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5				TO : Department of State		INFO : LAGOS, LONDON, LUSAKA, PARIS	
INR	E	P	IO	FROM : Amembassy ABIDJAN		DATE: September 25, 1968	
5	4	2	5	SUBJECT : Kaunda Visit		REF : Abidjan 4351	
L	FBO	AIO		<p>President Kaunda of Zambia left Abidjan for Lusaka on the afternoon of September 20, after prolonging his "technical stop" for a few hours in order to confer with President Houphouet-Boigny and to be his guest at lunch. At his departure, Kaunda said that he had found an even greater identity of views between Zambia and Ivory Coast than he had anticipated, especially as concerned the Nigerian-Biafran conflict. Asking "What interests lead people as different from each other as the Russians and British to range themselves on the side of the Federals to fight against the Biafrans?", Kaunda reaffirmed the determination of Zambians to remain firm to their principles and to continue to aid the Biafran people. "We have no excuses to make to anyone because we act freely. We applaud those who act according to our principles, according to the rule of morality, just as we condemn that which we consider contrary to international ethics and morality."</p> <p>In concluding, Kaunda said that he had accepted President Houphouet-Boigny's invitation to visit Ivory Coast again next year, and that he looked forward to a visit by President Houphouet-Boigny in Zambia.</p> <p>After leaving, Kaunda sent back a telegram saying, in part: "This very warm welcome crowned by our identity of views on</p>			
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CONFIDENTIAL 852

PAGE 01 KINSHA 11779 261108 VN POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

21  
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AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L KINSHASA 11779

SUBJECT: OAU SUMMIT: NIGERIAN WAR

REF: STATE 24196

1. FOREIGN MINISTER BOMBOKO WAS BY FAR MOST VEHEMENT I HAVE SEEN HIM ON SUBJECT OF NIGERIA TODAY. HE SAID I COULD INFORM DEPARTMENT THAT FOUR COUNTRIES WHO HAD RECOGNIZED BIAFRA HAD BEEN TOTALLY ISOLATED AT ALGIERS AND HAD BEEN MADE TO APPEAR RIDICULOUS.
2. BOMBOKO WENT ON TO SAY THAT BIAFRA PRECEDENT WAS EXTREMELY DANGEROUS FOR ALL OF AFRICA. HE SAID COMMUNIST CHINESE WOULD DEARLY LOVE TO PICK UP PIECES OF SUCH COUNTRIES AS NIGERIA AND CONGO, AND MENTIONED CHINESE COMPLICITY IN ACTIVITIES OF KWILU REBELLION AND SIMBA GOVERNMENT IN KISANGANI IN 1964, WHEN CONGO COULD HAVE BEEN TORN APART HAD THERE BEEN AN OJUKWU. HE SAID IT WAS ESSENTIAL REVOLTS OF THIS KIND BE STIFLED OR AFRICA WOULD BE INFECTED BY POCKETS OF CHINESE INFILTRATION.

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46

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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CONFIDENTIAL 318

NIGERIA

PAGE 01 YAOUNDE 02177 251553Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO IO 13, EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSA 00,  
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04,  
SCA 02, AID 28, SA 01, SAH 02, ACDA 16, RSR 01, 172 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2464  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
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AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
USUN NEW YORK 75

C O N F I D E N T I A L YAOUNDE 2177

SUBJ: OAU SUMMIT: NIGERIAN WAR: GFRC REACTIONS

REF: STATE 241962, MONROVIA 7349

POL 15-1 LIB

1. FONMIN NKO ETOUNGOU AND I DISCUSSED IMPLICATIONS FOR NIGERIA OF ALGIERS OAU CONFERENCE. CAMEROON DOES NOT EXPECT QUESTION OF BIAFRA TO BE RAISED AT UNGA, EXCEPT POSSIBLY HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS. NKO ETOUNGOU SAYS OAU SOLID FRONT SHOWN AT ALGIERS WILL REMAIN SOLID AT NEW YORK, THAT EFFORTS BY ZAMBIA, TANZANIA, COTE D'IVOIRE AND GABON WILL NOT RALLY SUPPORT.
2. ON HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS, CAMEROON WILLING TO CONSIDER ANY PROPOSALS CONSISTENT WITH BASIC POSITION VIS-A-VIS BIAFRAN QUESTION.
3. NKO ETOUNGOU SAYS CHIEF OF STATE COMMITTEE MANDATE RENEWED AT ALGIERS, EXPECTS THAT HIM MAY CALL MEETING TO DETERMINE NEXT STEPS. HIM HAS WON CONSIDERABLE ADMIRATION FOR HIS ROLE, BY THE WAY. NKO ETOUNGOU SEEMS TO THINK FUTURE DEPENDS ON PROGRESS MILITARY SITUATION, WHICH HE ESTIMATES WILL BE RESOLVED BY END OF YEAR. IN SPEAKING OF MILITARY VICTORY BY FMG HE DOES NOT AT ALL EXCLUDE LIKELIHOOD OF GUERRILLA WARFARE. SAYS KEY TO SITUATION

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12957 251859Z

45  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, SAH 02, ACDA 16, AID 28, SA 01, CIAE 00,  
DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 22  
USIA 12, NSA 02, SCS 04, SCA 02, RSR 01, 174 W  
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R 251430Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2718  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
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AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
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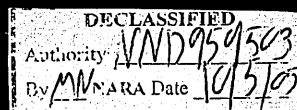
SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUND-UP SEPTEMBER 25

1. REBEL SPLIT: ALL PAPERS CARRY REPORTS BASED ON FMG PRESS RELEASE SEPT 24 ANNOUNCING THAT REPORTS HAVE REACHED LAGOS OF SPLIT IN REBEL LEADERSHIP BETWEEN THOSE FAVORING NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND THOSE WHO FAVOR FIGHTING TO THE END (LAGOS 12930). MOST INCLUDE IN STORY REPORTS FROM LONDON THAT AZIKIWE LEFT LONDON LAST WEEKEND TO CONTACT OJUKWU AND SPECULATION IS HE WILL TRY TO PERSUADE OJUKWU TO GIVE UP FIGHT. ALSO INCLUDED IS REPORT THAT QTE THOUSANDS OF CIVILIANS UNQTE ARE COMING OUT OF REBEL AREAS IN RESPONSE TO SAFE-CONDUCT PASSES AND PLEDGES WHICH FMG HAS BEEN DAILY DROPPING ON REBEL AREAS. (FMG ISSUED OPTIMISTIC PRESS RELEASE TO THIS EFFECT ON SEPT 24.)

2. LORD SHEPHERDS VISIT: ALL PAPERS REPORT ARRIVAL TODAY SEPT 25 OF LORD SHEPHERD FOR QTE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS UNQTE WITH ARIKPO (LAGOS)

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 12957 251859Z

129311. TIMES AND POST INCLUDE SPECULATION THAT TALKS MAY CONCERN RELIEF OPERATIONS AND MENTION REPORT THAT FMG QTE PREPARED TO COOPERATE IN ICRC ATTEMPTS TO PARACHUTE AID AND RELIEF WORKERS TO ISOLATED AREAS IF ASKED BY FMG. UNQTE

3. CHARGES THAT HARD CURRENCY PROVIDED TO REBELS BY RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS. SEPT 24. FMG ISSUED PRESS RELEASE CHARGING THAT L4.5 MILLION FROM WESTERN GERMAN AND NORDIC CHURCH AND RED CROSS ORGANIZATIONS HAD BEEN EXCHANGED BY ICRC FOR QTE WORTHLESS UNQTE BIAFRA CURRENCY TO BUY RELIEF SUPPLIES ON LOCAL MARKET IN BIAFRA, THUS PROVIDING REBELS WITH HARD CURRENCY TO PURCHASE ARMS. REPORT ALSO STATED THAT LARGE AMOUNTS OF CHEMICALS HAD BEEN PURCHASED FOR MANUFACTURE OF MINES AND EXPLOSIVES. ALL PAPERS EXCEPT BENIN OBSERVER REPORT CHARGES WITH ADDITIONAL SCARE NOTE THAT REBELS MAY RESORT TO CHEMICAL WARFARE. TIMES ONLY ADDS REPORT THAT SPOKESMAN FOR ICRC IN LAGOS SAID HE HAD HEARD NOTHING OF THIS.

4. OBSERVERS. POST AND BENIN OBSERVER REPORT ARRIVAL SEPT 24 IN BENIN CITY OF FOUR FOREIGN OBSERVERS INVITED BY FMG. POST ADDS GROUP WILL GO ON TO ENUGU SEPT 25. OBSERVER HAS EDITORIAL WELCOMING ARRIVAL OF OBSERVERS BUT SAYS THAT THEIR PRESENCE IS QTE ACT OF KINDNESS UNQTE ON PART OF FMG. NO COUNTRY AT WAR HAS EVER BEFORE CONSENTED TO INVITING FOREIGN OBSERVERS TO WATCH PROGRESS OF WAR. STATES THAT NIGERIAN WAR IS INTERNAL WAR TO PRESERVE NIGERIAN TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, NOT WAR OF GENOCIDE, AND IT IS CONFIDENT OBSERVERS WILL BE CONVINCED OF THIS AND WILL PRESENT TO WORLD WHAT THEY HAVE SEEN OF A PEOPLE FIGHTING WAR OF UNITY AGAINST SHAMELESS REBELLION.

5. CANADA. POST REPORTS STATEMENTS BY CANADIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER IN LAGOS THAT IT IS UNTRUE HIS GOVERNMENT IS MAKING ATTEMPTS TO RAISE NIGERIAN SITUATION IN UN. SAID THAT GOC ONLY INTERESTED IN GETTING MORE RELIEF TO THOSE IN NEED. EXCERPTS ALSO GIVEN IN POST FROM SHARPS LETTER TO U THANT. TRIBUNE HAS EDITORIAL ON SUBJECT STATING THAT IF CANADIANS ARE CONCERNED ABOUT VICTIMS OF WAR IN NIGERIA, THEY MUST REALIZE NIGERIANS EVEN MORE CONCERNED. SAYS THAT IN FIRST PLACE REQUEST TO U THANT IS RATHER BELATED SINCE HE HAS ALREADY, ON OWN INITIATIVE, BEEN IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH FMG, AND UNICEF IS NOW HELPING DISTRIBUTE FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES. IN SECOND PLACE, CANADIAN GOVERNMENT HAS SENT AN OBSERVER AT INVITATION OF FMG, AND PAPER BELIEVES GOC SHOULD HAVE WAITED FOR REPORT OF ITS OBSERVER BEFORE GOING TO UN. NIGERIA NEEDS CONCRETE ACTION NOW NOT

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 12957 251859Z

QTE SHEER TALK. UNQTE CALLS ON U THANT TO CONTINUE TO GIVE ALL ASSI -  
TANCE HE CAN IN RELIEF TASK BUT NOT ALLOW QTE TYPE OF TALKING EXER -  
CISE WHICH CANADA DEMANDS. UNQTE SINCE THIS WILL NOT HELP ANYBODY.

6. FUTURE OF IBOS IN NIGERIA: POST CARRIES EDITORIAL QTE BRIGHT  
FUTURE FOR IBOS UNQTE WHICH POINTS UP ARRANGEMENTS MADE TO REINTE -  
GRATE IBOS INTO NIGERIA--MEASURES TO PROTECT AND COLLECT RENTS ON  
IBO PROPERTY IN VARIOUS STATES, AND KANO AND BENUE-PLATEAU STATE  
LOANS TO IBO BUSINESSMEN TO GET STARTED AGAIN. SAYS THAT WHEN CONFLICT

IS OVER MANY WHO LEFT JOBS IN LAGOS WILL FIND QTE THEY ARE WARMLY T -  
KEN BACK AND RESETTLED..NIGERIA CAN CERTAINLY LOOK AFTER ALL HER  
CHILDREN, INCLUDING THE IBOS. UNQTE POST AND TIMES REPORT WITH MANY  
QUOTES, SPEECH ON MINORITY PROBLEMS IN NIGERIA BY NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR  
TO WEST GERMANY AT MEETING OF GERMAN COMMITTEE OF WORLD UNIVERSITY  
SERVICE. MATHEWS

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12970 252037Z

88.  
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INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 0

SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, SR 01, ORM 03, SCSE 00, SCA 02, AID 28,

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UNCLAS LAGOS 12970

SUBJ NIGERIA: FURTHER REPORT ON RUMORED REBEL SPLIT

REF: LAGOS 12930

AT 1500Z SEPTEMBER 25 FMG ISSUED FOLLOWING PRESS RELEASE:

1. QTE REPORTS STILL REACHING LAGOS ABOUT MEETING OF REBEL LEADERS AT UMUHIA STATE THAT THOSE WHO ARE IN FAVOUR OF PEACE MOVES INCLUDE FORMER FEDERAL MINISTERS, FORMER POLITICIANS, PROMINENT BUSINESSMEN AND MANY TRADITIONAL CHIEFS.

2. QTE THIS GROUP IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT FEDERAL PEACE TERMS SUBJECT TO GUARANTEE THAT THESE WILL BE STRICTLY OBSERVED. THESE LEADERS REGARD CONTINUATION OF STRUGGLE AS SENSELESS GESTURE AND FEAR THAT IT WILL LEAD TO DECIMATION OF THEIR TRIBE AS WELL AS FURTHER EXTENSIVE

DAMAGE TO PROPERTY AND REMAINING INFRASTRUCTURE OF AREA. THEY FEEL THAT MAIN OBJECTIVE NOW SHOULD BE PHYSICAL SURVIVAL OF TRIBE AND PRESERVATION OF ITS CULTURAL AND SOCIAL TRADITIONS. THEY ALSO PRESS NG

FOR RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, ESPECIALLY MEMBERS OF THE FORMER

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9-25-68

RECORDED BY 10/8

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DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VNP 9501503  
By MWA Date 10/5/03



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 12970 252037Z

FEDERAL PARLIAMENT, WHO HAVE BEEN DETAINED FOR OPPOSING SECESSION.

3. QTE THESE "DOVES" BELIEVE SUCH A FINAL ACT OF MERCY WILL HELP ACHIEVE RECONCILIATION OF TRIBE AND RESTORE ITS SOLIDARITY AT MOST CRITICAL HOUR OF ITS HISTORY.

4. QTE ON OTHER HAND, "HAWKS", LED BY OJUKWU AND SUPPORTED BY MAJORITY OF ARMY OFFICERS AS WELL AS SOME POLITICIANS, HAVE ARGUED THAT SURRENDER WILL SPELL DOOM OF IBO PEOPLE AS A NATIONAL ENTITY AND WILL LEAD TO THEIR DISPERSION AND ABSORPTION.

5. QTE THEY TEND TO REGARD SOME OF "DOVES" AS TRAITORS, WILLING TO COMPROMISE WITH ENEMY AND TAKE VIEW THAT IBOS SHOULD DIE FIGHTING RATHER THAN PUT THEMSELVES AT OF TRIBES OPPONENTS.

6. QTE ENCOURAGED BY PROMISES OF ARMS AND RESISTANCE FROM FRIENDLY COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY GABON AND FRANCE, THEY ADVOCATE EMULATING EXAMPLE OF ALGERIAN FLN AND VIETCONG AND BELIEVE THAT PROLONGED GUERRILLA WAR AND POLICY OF TOTAL NON CO-OPERATION WILL EVENTUALLY BRING ABOUT DISINTEGRATION OF THE FEDERAL STRUCTURE.

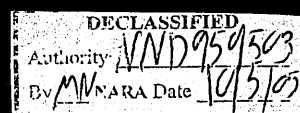
7. QTE "HAWKS" STRESS, IN PARTICULAR, THAT A SUCCESSFUL AND CONTINUED SABOTAGE OF OIL WELLS AND INSTALLATIONS WILL INDUCE BRITAIN TO RECONSIDER HER POSITION IN LIGHT OF INTERESTS OF BRITISH OIL COMPANIES WHICH, BUT FOR CIVIL WAR, WOULD HAVE SHIPPED OVER 20 MILLION TONS OF CRUDE OIL, WORTH SOME £70 MILLION, FROM EASTERN NIGERIA.

8. QTE MUCH OF LOCAL STAFF ENGAGED IN OIL EXTRACTION AND PROCESSING IS OF IBO DESCENT AND OJUKWU IS UNDERSTOOD TO HAVE REFERRED TO PLAN INVOLVING EXPERT TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN TRAINING SABOTEURS.

9. QTE "HAWKS", WHO ARE APPARENTLY DETERMINED TO TRY TO IMPLEMENT THEIR PLANS, IRRESPECTIVE OF WHAT MAJORITY MAY FINALLY DECIDE, HAVE ALSO EXPRESSED VIEW THAT A PROLONGED WAR WILL MAKE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INCREASINGLY DEPENDENT ON SOVIET SUPPORT, EVENTUALLY BRINGING ABOUT CHANGE IN AMERICAN POLICY IN THEIR FAVOUR. UNQTE MATHEWS

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37



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State

**TELEGRAM**

22

SECRET 419

PAGE 01 LAGOS 00129 251703Z

53  
ACTION SS 70

INFO CCO 00,SSO 00,NSCE 00,DODE 00,CIAE 00,USIE 00,/070 W

O WWTQYEPZ SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2724  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T LAGOS 12967

LIMDIS NOFORN EXCEPT UK

1. WALKER MARTIN AND VOLKMAR OF QUAKERS HAVE TOLD ME OF LATEST CONTACTS WITH BIAFRANS WHICH THEY UNDERTOOK AT URGING OF DIORI OF NIGER. MARTIN AND CURLE WERE IN BIAFRA FROM NIGHT SEPT 19 TO EARLY HOURS SEPT 21. VOLKMAR SAW BIAFRANS IN PARIS AT SAME TIME.

2. MARTIN AND CURLE TALKED WITH ONYEBGULA AND IGNATIUS COOKEY AS BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVES. QUAKERS INQUIRED WHETHER BIAFRAN READY TO ENTER INTO UNPUBLICIZED NEGOTIATIONS WITH FMG. BIAFRANS REPLIED SOONER THE BETTER. QUAKERS FOUND BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVES FOR FIRST TIME FACING GRIM REALITIES THEIR POSITION. MARTIN AND CURLE ALSO TALKED WITH NUMBER EXPATRIATE MISSIONARIES AND RELIEF WORKERS. OPINIONS AS TO STATE OF BIAFRAN MORAL VARIED AMONG THIS GROUP BUT MORE THAN ON PAST VISITS EXPRESSED VIEW MANY BIAFRANS READY TO GIVE UP.

3. VOLKMAR SAW GROUP INCLUDING MOJEKWU, ENI NJOKU, OKORO AND FEW OTHERS IN PARIS. THEY WERE IN GRIM MOOD AND NJOKU WAS GTE BROKEN MAN UNQTE. BIAFRANS ACCEPTED NEED FOR EARLY NEGOTIATIONS WITH FMG.

4. MARTIN AND VOLKMAR HAVE ALREADY REPORTED BIAFRAN WILLINGNESS TO UNDERTAKE UNPUBLICIZED NEGOTIATIONS TO ARIKPO WHO REACTED FAVORABLY. THEY ARE SEEING GOWON LATER TODAY AND SAID WOULD LET ME KNOW OUTCOME THAT MEETING.  
GP-3.

MATHEWS

SECRET

*Handwritten:* 12967  
9-25-68

*Vertical stamp:* RECEIVED IN SA

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MVA Date: 10/3/05

L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screened *JWS*

POST *L4605*

(Time Received)

SERIAL *12967*

1968 SEP 25 PM 1 59

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT

569

Secretariat

Geographic

Other

S/S-S *1*  
S/S-O *1*  
S/S-Screener *3*  
S/S-EX  
S/S-CMS  
S/S-O DIR *✓*  
MilRep  
Summary *✓*  
Task Force

AF5 *X5*  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 9  
NEA *7*

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR2  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2

Functional

Principals

ES2 *4*  
S  
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INR 6 *6*  
IO 4  
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SIG *1*  
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S/R *4*  
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OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10 *10*  
CIA *P*  
DOD *P*  
USIA *P*  
NSA

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By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

32

UNCLASSIFIED 373

PAGE 01 KADUNA 01391 251608Z

47  
ACTION: AF 16

INFO: EUR 15, SA 01, AID 28, SCSE 00, SCA 02, OPR 02, IO 13, PC 04, CIAE 00,  
DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25,  
USIA 12, NSA 02, RSR 01, /154 W

R 251512Z SEP 68  
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 897  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMCONSULATE IBADAN

UNCLAS KADUNA 1391

REF: KADUNA 1388

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

1. SEPTEMBER 25 NEW NIGERIAN REPORTS THAT NORTH-CENTRAL STATE MIL-  
GOV KYARI SAID THAT HE "SHARES THE VIEWS" OF NORTHWEST STATE  
MILGOV FARUK THAT ALL FOREIGN NATIONALS STILL IN REBEL-HELD AREAS  
ARE MERCENARIES. KYARI'S REMARKS, LIKE FARUK'S WERE MADE  
AT KADUNA AIRPORT UPON RETURN FROM SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL  
MEETING IN LAGOS.

2. SAME ARTICLE QUOTES KYARI AS CONDEMNING CANADIAN UN  
PROPOSAL ON NIGERIA. KYARI REPORTEDLY DESCRIBED CANADIAN  
ACTION AS "SHAMEFUL" PARTICULARLY IN VIEW CANADIAN ACCUSATIONS OF  
FRENCH INTERFERENCE IN CANADIAN AFFAIRS.

STOKES.

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Authority: VNP 959503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SYSTEMATIC REVIEW WITHDRAWAL CARD NO. POL 50-20821

DATE: 9/24/68 MSG NO.: 12926  
12935 TYPE: 2TEs  
FROM: Lagos TO: State  
SUBJECT: British Conversations w/ FMG Officials  
DOCUMENT ORIGINATOR: DEPT. OF STATE: ✓ OTHER:       

BASIS FOR WITHDRAWAL:

✓ CONTAINS NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
       OTHER LAW OR REGULATION

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Authority	VND 9503
By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
 XR POL 32-1 MALAWI-ZAMBIA  
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
 XR POL 31-1 PORT-ZAMBIA  
 XR POL 15-1 ZAMBIA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 218

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 02630 241051Z

16  
ACTION AF 16

INFO NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, AID 28, RSR 01, ACDA 16, EUR 15, 148 W

R 240716Z SEP 68  
 FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3213  
 INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
 AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
 AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE  
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS

*9-24-68  
Jusaka  
2630*

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*DECLASSIFIED BY NS/R*

1. PRESIDENT KAUNDA RETURNED LATE SEPTEMBER 20 FROM OAU SUMMIT AND VISIT TO FRANCE. SPEAKING TO PARTY FOLLOWERS AT UNIP HEADQUARTERS NEXT DAY HE REAFFIRMED ZAMBIA'S SUPPORT FOR BIAFRA, REVEALED CONTINUED DISPLEASURE WITH COL. BOUMEDIENNE'S REMARKS AT THE OAU SUMMIT, WARNED MALAWI PRESIDENT KAMUZU BANDA AGAINST TRYING TO PRESS HIS CLAIM TO PARTS OF EASTERN ZAMBIA, AND EMPHASIZED HIS CONTINUED RECOGNITION OF KWAME NKRUMA GRC MASAMBA-DEBAT, AND BEN BELLA AS RIGHTFUL LEADERS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES. HE ALSO ANNOUNCED ANOTHER INCIDENT OF PORTUGUESE BOMBING ON ZAMBIA'S WESTERN BORDER (REPORTED SEPARATELY), NOTING THAT PORTUGUESE WERE TAKING ADVANTAGE OF ZAMBIA'S LACK OF FIGHTER AIRCRAFT, BUT IT WOULD NOT BE LONG BEFORE ZAMBIA ACQUIRED SUCH WEAPONS. BASED ON PRESS COVERAGE, IT APPEARS KAUNDA SAID LITTLE OR NOTHING ABOUT HIS TRIP TO PARIS.

2. KAUNDA SAID PRESIDENT BANDA'S CLAIMS TO PARTS OF ZAMBIA WERE TANTAMOUNT TO A DECLARATION OF WAR. KAUNDA'S REPLY: "LET HIM ACT. WE ARE READY." HE SAID BANDA DOES NOT HAVE THE MONEY OR SOLDIERS TO INVADE ZAMBIA, THAT HE HAS TO DEPEND ON SOUTH AFRICA AND PORTUGAL. IF SOUTH AFRICAN OR PORTUGUESE SOLDIERS ENTER ZAMBIA, "THEY WILL NOT GET OUT. THEY WILL SUFFER."

3. KAUNDA SAID BOUMEDIENNE CAME TO HIM AT 2 A.M. IN ALGIERS TO PLEAD

(4)

*POL 32-1 MALAWI-ZAMBIA*

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 Authority *VND 959503*  
 By *MV* NARA Date *10/5/05*





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

32

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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 02630 241051Z

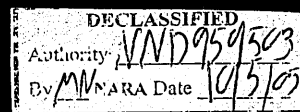
MISINTERPRETATION OF SPEECH BOUMEDIENNE MADE IN ARABIC ALLEGEDLY SAYING COUNTRIES WHICH RECOGNIZED BIAFRA WERE COLLABORATING WITH IMPERIALISTS. KAUNDA WENT ON: "WHILE I AM NOT ACCUSING HIM OF NOT TELLING THE TRUTH, I ASKED FOR PROOF, BUT UP TO NOW NOTHING HAS BEEN FORTHCOMING." HE EXPLAINED HIS REFUSAL OF OAU VICE PRESIDENCY WAS BECAUSE HE DID NOT WISH ASSOCIATE ZAMBIA WITH COUNTRIES ADVOCATING DESTRUCTION OF BIAFRANS. ASSERTING ZAMBIA'S INDEPENDENCE OF THOUGHT AND ACTION (IN SUPPORT OF BIAFRA) HE CONCLUDED: "WE ARE NOT IMPERIALIST STOOGES. THOSE WHO ARE TRYING TO OPPRESS BIAFRANS ARE THE STOOGES OF IMPERIALISTS."

4. KAUNDA REVEALED THAT HE HAD JUST SENT KWAME NKRUMAH CONGRATULATIONS ON HIS 59TH BIRTHDAY, ASSURING HIM THAT AS FAR AS KAUNDA IS CONCERNED NKRUMAH IS STILL PRESIDENT OF GHANA. HE SAID HE WAS TIRED OF ARMY REGIMES THAT IMPOSED THEMSELVES ON THE PEOPLE. HE ALSO SAW MASAMBA-DEBAT AND BEN BELLA AS RIGHTFUL LEADERS OF THEIR COUNTRIES. ALTHOUGH MOBUTU AND NASSER ALSO CAME TO POWER BY MILITARY MIGHT HE ACCEPTED THEM AS THEY HAD BEEN ACCEPTED BY THEIR PEOPLE AS LEADERS. GHANA'S ARMY RULERS WERE RELUCTANT TO HOLD ELECTIONS BECAUSE THEY KNEW FOR SURE THEY WOULD LOSE.

5. COMMENT: KAUNDA LEFT NO DOUBT ABOUT STRENGTH OF HIS FEELINGS ON BIAFRA QUESTION AND HIS DISAPPOINTMENT IN OUTCOME OF OAU MEETING. ALSO CLEAR THAT HE BITTERLY RESENTS BOUMEDIENNE'S REMARKS AT OAU AND DOES NOT ACCEPT MISINTERPRETATION AS EXCUSE. HIS ANGRY REACTION TO BANDA'S TERRITORIAL CLAIMS PROBABLY STEMS NOT SO MUCH FROM CONCERN THAT BANDA SHOULD BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY AS FROM BELIEF THAT BANDA IS ALLOWING HIMSELF TO BE "USED" BY SOUTH AFRICANS AND PORTUGUESE.  
DECON DEC 31, 1968  
GOOD!

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37



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
 YR POL 3 OAU  
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
 XRPOL 27-1 COMBLOC - CZECH  
 XRPOL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

CONFIDENTIAL 249

PAGE 01 ABIDJA 04398 251502Z

53  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SA 01, AID 28, PC 04, SAH 02, SRI 01,

IO 13, RSR 01, 151 W

2 R 241800Z SEP 68  
 FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2998  
 INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
 AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
 AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
 RUEHCRAMEMBASSY NIAMEY 410  
 AMEMBASSY RABAT  
 AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
 AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
 RQWNCX/AMEMBASSY LIBREILLE 089  
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS  
 USMISSION GENEVA  
 RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN 097

CONFIDENTIAL ABIDJAN 4398

SUBJ: NIGERIAN WAR, OAU SUMMIT

REF: STATE 241962, LAGOS 12864

1. UNABLE SEE FONMIN USHER UNTIL TODAY. HE THREW NO RPT NO LIGHT ON FURTHER OAU ACTION PURSUANT TO NIGERIAN RESOLUTION. SAID AFRICANS WOULD NOT RPT NOT PROPOSE UNGA INSCRIPTION, BUT POSITION OF FOUR WHO RECOGNIZE BIAFRA UNDECIDED IN CASE SOME OTHER STATE, E.G., CANADA, PROPOSES INSCRIPTION.

2. HE NOTED MAJORITY AFRICAN OPINION ON BIAFRA WITH SAD

4

CONFIDENTIAL

INTERPRETED BY RS/11

*Abidjan 4398*  
*9-24-68*

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 Authority: VND959503  
 By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 ABIDJA 04398 251502Z

RESIGNATION. MENTIONED THAT HE HAD HAD GOOD DISCUSSION WITH AWOLOWO DESPITE DIFFERENCES. (GERNAM JOURNALIST WHO WAS IN ALGIERS TELLS US AWOLOWO PAID FRIENDLY TRIBUTE TO USHER'S ATTITUDE IN TALKING TO PRESS.)

3. USHER COMMENTED ON PROFOUND IMPRESSION SOVIET OCCUPATION OF CZECHO HAD MADE ON AFRICANS. SAID ONLY MALI, ALGERIA AND NIGERIA (NOT EVEN GUINEA) HAD SUPPORTED MOTION TO APPROVE SOVIET ACTION. COMMENTED THAT NIGERIAN ATTITUDE DID NOT RPT NOT RE. PRESENT REALLY PRO-COMMUNIST VIEWS, BUT WAS DUE TO APPRECIATION FOR SOVIET SUPPORT IN CIVIL WAR, WHICH IS REAL BASIS FOR DANGER OF FUTURE SOVIET INFLUENCE IN NIGERIA.

4. USHER SAID MILITARY OBSESSED WITH WAR, IGNORE FLIGHT OF CIVILIANS, ESPECIALLY CHILDREN. SAID GOIC COUNCIL OF MINISTERS HAS DECIDED TO SHELTER BIAFRAN CHILDREN HERE.

5. I POINTED OUT HOW STRONGLY WE FELT ABOUT HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS AND HOW ACTIVELY WE WERE SUPPORTING ICRC IN ITS EFFORTS. NOTING ICRC BELIEF IN CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF LAND CORRIDOR. ASKED WHY BIAFRANS REFUSED TO AGREE. USHER SAID THEY HAD NO RPT NO CONFIDENCE THAT CORRIDOR WOULD NOT RPT NOT ALSO BE USED BY FMG FOR MILITARY PURPOSES. CITED ICRC PROTEST TO FMG BECAUSE FMG USED PLANE TO CARRY MILITARY SUPPLIES THAT ICRC HAD USED TO CARRY CIVILIAN RELIEF. HE SAID I HAD NO RPT NO SUCH INFORMATION. IN REPEATEDLY URGED IMPORTANCE OF LAND CORRIDOR. ASKED IF SOME FORM OF INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE AND BEGGED HIM LET ME KNOW IF ANY HOPEFUL POSSIBILITY EMERGES.  
GP-4  
MORGAN

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

66



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

27  
9-24-68  
13930

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12930 241817Z

46  
ACTION: AF 16

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, GPM 04, H 02,  
INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, SA 01, SAH 02,  
SAL 01, NIC 01, ACDA 16, AID 28, INT 06, E 15, RSR 01, 173 W

O R 241655Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2704  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
CINCSSTRIKE/CINCMCAFSA  
DIA UNN

UNCLAS LAGOS 12930

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: RUMORS OF REBEL SPLIT

AT 1500Z SEPTEMBER 24 FMG ISSUED FOLLOWING PRESS RELEASE:

1. QTE: REPORTS REACHING LAGOS STATE THAT A MAJOR SPLIT HAS DEVELOPED IN THE REBEL LEADERSHIP BETWEEN THOSE WHO FAVOUR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, FOLLOWED BY CONDITIONAL SURRENDER, AND THOSE WHO ADVOCATE A "FIGHT TO THE FINISH", INVOLVING GUERRILLA WARFARE, INTENSIVE SABOTAGE AND A GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE.

2. QTE: IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT AT A MEETING IN UMUAHIA TODAY, PLANS TO SABOTAGE OIL INSTALLATIONS IN THE EASTERN STATES WERE DISCUSSED.  
UNQTE: MATHEWS

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Authority: VND 9501503  
By: MWA Date: 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 23

PAGE 01 KADUNA 01388 241353Z

53  
ACTION AF 16

INFO NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SA 01, AID 28, SCSE 00, SCA 02, OPR 02,

IO 13, RSR 01, 135 W

R 241230Z SEP 68  
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 896  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMCONSUL IBADAN

UNCLAS KADUNA 1388

NEW NIGERIAN SEPTEMBER 23 CARRIED STATEMENT BY MILGOV NORTH-WESTERN STATE CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT USMAN NERUK THAT AS FAR AS HE CONCERNED ALL FOREIGNERS STILL IN REBEL-HELD AREAS WERE "MECENARIES." FARUK WAS REPORTEDLY COMMENTING ON REPORTS THAT FOREIGNERS WERE BEING EVACUATED FROM REBEL-HELD AREAS. FARUK WAS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT FOREIGNERS WERE WARNED BY THE FMG BEFORE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES AND WONDERED WHAT THESE FOREIGNERS WERE STILL DOING IN REBEL-HELD AREAS. "AS FAR AS I AM CONCERNED," CONTINUED FARUK, "ALL THOSE FOREIGNERS, WHETHER THEY ARE MISSIONARIES, RELIEF WORKERS, OR TRADERS, ARE ALL MECENARIES FIGHTING TO SUSTAIN OUKWU'S REBELLION."

STOKES.

MICROFILMED BY NS/G

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DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05

67

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

Pol 27 Biafra - Nigeria

243787

Pol 1 Biafra - Chicoms

24 SEP 68 17 11Z

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Origin

ACTION: ALL AF DIPLOMATIC POSTS

Info:

INFO: Amembassy PARIS  
Amembassy LONDON  
Amembassy LISBON  
Amembassy MOSCOW (POUCH)

Circular

STATE:

Subject: Chicoms support Biafra

1. Peking NCNA International broadcast in English 22 Sept strongly supports Biafran secession and scores US-British QTE imperialist UNQTE and Soviet QTE revisionist support UNQTE of FMG. Some posts may find it appropriate and useful to call attention of Chicom origin of some of allegations in statement in discussions with media and host govt officials.

2. Excerpts monitored from broadcast (unnecessary words omitted) follow:

U.S. and British imperialism and Soviet revisionist ruling clique committed towering crimes in supporting FMG massacre of Biafran people, who declared their separation from Nigerian federation. Supported by US and British imperialism and Soviet revisionist ruling clique, FMG launched military offensive against Biafra

REPRODUCED BY P-3

Drafted by:

AF:AF/P-Peltier:al 9/24/68

Tel. Ext.

3887

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by: AF:AF/P-Raymond L. Perkins

Clearances:

USIA/IAA - Mr. Hedger (substance)

Nigerian Task Force

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

Page 2 of telegram to ALL AF DIPLOMATIC POSTS

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*Classification*

[ July 1967. After more than year's fighting, Federal troops, relying on ]  
their superiority in strength and on U.S., British, and Soviet arms and  
equipment, have captured capital of Biafra, all ports, and two-thirds of  
territory. Biafran people massacred in large numbers, but far from sub-  
jugated have been fighting staunchly.

After Biafra's separation from Nigerian Federation, British imperial-  
ism vigorously supported FMG's armed onslaught on Biafra with view to  
safeguarding colonial interests and particularly oil supply from Biafra,  
which provides one-tenth of its oil consumption. It constantly granted  
large amounts military aid to FMG and went so far as to send officers to  
take direct part in war.

U.S. imperialism has always regarded Nigeria as major target of infil-  
tration in Africa. US private investments in Nigeria, which have grown  
rapidly during past few years, have reached almost 100 million U.S. dollars,  
second only to British capital which amounts to over 200 million pounds.

After outbreak of war between FMG and Biafra, US <sup>imperialism</sup> ~~imperialism~~ actively  
supported British imperialism's armed intervention. At same time it has  
been pursuing double-faced policy in order to preserve its political and  
economic interests in Nigeria and to reap spoils of victory. While court-  
ing Biafra, US imperialism has repeatedly assured FMG that it recognizes  
[ the Federal Government as sole legal government of Nigeria. ]

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Page 3 of telegram to ALL AF DIPLOMATIC POSTS

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Soviet revisionist ruling clique has been pursuing policy of neo-colonialism in Africa. In order to squeeze into Nigeria and share spoils with US and British imperialism, it has openly supported FMG's war of genocide against Biafran people. Shortly after outbreak of war last year when FMG sustained defeat after defeat, Soviet revisionists, under so-called QTE cultural agreement, UNQUOTE made emergency delivery of 15 MIG fighters and sent large numbers of military technicians to FMG in August. Later they delivered more MIGs to replace those lost in battle.

Since March this year, Soviet revisionists have sold to FMG or given through other channels seven Ilyushin-18 jet bombers and large quantities 500-pound bombs. Foreign mercenaries flying Soviet planes trained by the Soviet revisionists. A Federal Army Lieutenant captured by Biafrans in August confessed officers of Soviet revisionist clique commanded Federal troops in fighting. Last May Nigerian Ambassador to Soviet Union lavishly praised Soviet revisionist clique as QTE strongest ally UNQTE of FMG. He admitted that were it not for aid of Soviet revisionists QTE we would have found ourselves in a more difficult situation today. UNQTE

Crimes of US and British imperialism and Soviet revisionism in supporting the FMG's massacre of Biafran people have aroused indignation of Biafrans and people of Tanzania, Zambia, and other African countries.

Tragedy brought about in Nigeria and Biafra by US and British imperialists

0681



Page 4 of telegram to ALL AF DIPLOMATIC POSTS

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[and Soviet revisionists in their collusion to redivide sphere of in-  
fluence in Africa has provided further lesson to people of Biafra and  
rest of Africa, who will strengthen their solidarity and resolutely  
resist intervention by US and British imperialism and Soviet revisionism.  
As long as Biafran people persevere in their struggle against imperialism  
and revisionism, they will undoubtedly win victory.]

END

RUSK

FORM DS-322A  
8-63  
CONTINUATION SHEET

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By MV NARA Date 10/5/05

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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Pol 27 Biafra - Nigeria

243787

Pol 1 Biafra - Chicoms

24 SEP 68 17 11 H

Origin

ACTION: ALL AF DIPLOMATIC POSTS

Info

INFO: Amembassy PARIS  
Amembassy LONDON  
Amembassy LISBON  
Amembassy MOSCOW (POUCH) *ke*

*circular*

STATE:

Subject: Chicoms support Biafra

1. Peking NCNA International broadcast in English 22 Sept strongly supports Biafran secession and scores US-British QTE imperialist UNQTE and Soviet QTE revisionist support UNQTE of FMG. Some posts may find it appropriate and useful to call attention of Chicoms origin of some of allegations in statement in discussions with media and host govt officials.

2. Excerpts monitored from broadcast (unnecessary words omitted) follow:

U.S. and British imperialism and Soviet revisionist ruling clique committed towering crimes in supporting FMG massacre of Biafran people, who declared their separation from Nigerian federation. Supported by US and British imperialism and Soviet revisionist ruling clique, FMG launched military offensive against Biafra

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Drafted by: AF:AF/P-Peltier:al 9/24/68 3887  
Clearance: AF:AF/P-Raymond L. Perkins  
Nigerian Task Force

USIA/IAA - Mr. Hedger (substance)

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05



Department of State

TELEGRAM

POL 27 BIRFA-NIGERIA

CONFIDENTIAL 990

PAGE 01 LAGOS 12888 231644Z

53  
ACTION: AF 16

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, PI 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SA 01, SAH 02, AID 28, PC 04,

ACDA 16, SRI 01, SCS 04, SCA 02, RSR 01, /173 W

PI R 231545Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2681  
INFO: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 12888

SUBJECT: CANADIAN-NIGERIAN RELATIONS

REF: A) LAGOS 12805; B) LAGOS 12869

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED BY CANADIAN HICOM, LAGOS FROM OTTAWA RELATIVE TO SSEA SHARP'S COMMENTS ON POSSIBLE CANADIAN INITIATIVE ON NIGERIAN QUESTION IN UN.

2. BEGIN TEXT. NIGERIAN HICOM IS CALLING ON SSEA 11 AM SUNI SEPT 24. FOLLOWING COMMENTARY WHICH HAS BEEN GIVEN MR. SHARP FOR THIS INTERVIEW CAN BE USED BY YOURSELF IN FURTHER TALKS WITH FMG.

3. AS SSEA HAS EXPLAINED IN HOUSE AND AS CLEARLY SET OUT IN HIS LET TO UTHANT (WHICH HAS BEEN RELEASED PUBLICLY) CDA HAS NEVER INTENDED TO BRING POLITICAL ASPECTS OF NIGERIAN PROBLEM TO UN OR TO HAVE UN INTERVENE IN NIGERIA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. OUR INTENTION HAS BEEN TO EXPLORE IN NY WHETHER ANY EFFECTIVE ACTION IS POSSIBLE IN UN CONTEXT ON SPECIFIC HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM OF GETTING SUFFICIENT RELIEF SUPPLIES THROUGH TO PEOPLE IN DIRE NEED. AS HICOM IS AWARE THIS IS A MATTER OF DEEP CONCERN TO CDN PEOPLE. IN THESE CONSULTATIONS

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TELEGRAM<sup>23</sup>

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 12888 231644Z

WE HAD NO REPEAT NO PRECONCEIVED NOTION THAT THERE SHOULD BE AN ITEM ON AGENDA. WE CAN INFORM NIGERIANS CONFIDENTIALLY THAT OUR EXPLORATIONS HAVE YIELDED AN ASSESSMENT THAT IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO BRING ONLY THE SPECIFIC HUMANITARIAN CONCERN TO UN WITHOUT OPENING WAY FOR UNPRODUCTIVE DEBATE ON OTHER ASPECTS OF PROBLEM. WE FULLY APPRECIATE SIGNIFICANCE OF NOT REPEAT NOT INTERFERING IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF NIGERIA. WHILE THEREFORE WE MAY CONTINUE TO EXPLORE POSSIBILITY WE DO NOT REPEAT NOT NOW ENVISAGE SEEKING TO PLACE AN ITEM ON AGENDA.

4. FOR YOUR INFO IT IS LIKELY THAT SSEA WILL WISH IN HIS SPEECH IN UNGA GENERAL DEBATE TO EXPRESS CDAS PARTICULAR CONCERN WITH HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM. THIS WILL FOCUS ON RELIEF DELIVERIES ISSUE AND RESTATE OUR CONVICTION THAT POLITICAL ISSUE SHOULD BE DEALT WITH BY NIGERIANS AND OAU. NIGERIANS, WE ARE SURE UNDERSTAND THAT IN VIEW OF STRONG CDN PUBLIC CONCERN AND DEMANDS THAT UN SOMEHOW BE INVOLVED, IT WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR SSEA TO IGNORE THIS ISSUE IN HIS SPEECH. END TEXT.

5. COMMENT: HICOM FEELS THEIR POSITION IN NIGERIAN HAS BEEN DAMAGED BY SHARP'S REMARKS BUT HOPEFUL GOC LETTER TO U THANT (REF (B)), PARA 6) PLUS THE ABOVE DISCUSSION WITH NIGERIAN HICOM OTTAWA WILL SMOOTH MATTERS OVER. WE HOPE US WILL NOT GET OUT IN FRONT IN ANY UN INITIATIVE ON NIGERIAN QUESTION PARTICULARLY BEARING IN MIND POSSIBLE REACTIONS AGAINST WIDELY DISPERSED AMCITS IN NIGERIA.  
GP-3. MATHEWS

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By	MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
 XR POL 15 NIGERIA

CONFIDENTIAL 748

PAGE 01 COTONOU 01755 231336Z

53  
ACTION: AF 16

INFO: NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,  
 RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SA 01, SAH 02, IO 13, AID 28, PC 04, SR 01,  
 EUR 15, ACDA 16, RSR 01, /169 W

R 230930Z SEPI 68  
 FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
 TO: SECSTATE WASHDC 1625  
 INFO: AMEMBASSY PARIS  
 AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
 AMEMBASSY LOME  
 AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU  
 AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L COTONOU 1755

1. PRESIDENT ZINSOU'S SEPTEMBER 21 COMMENTS ON BIAFRA TOOK US AND, ACCORDING TO FRENCH CHARGE, FRENCH EMBASSY AS WELL BY SURPRISE. AS REPORTED HERE ZINSOU COMMENTED TO REPORTERS FOLLOWING HIS MEETING WITH DE GAULLE, "SOLUTION TO NIGERIAN DRAMA LIES IN GREATEST POSSIBLE INDEPENDENCE OF A BIAFRA RETAINING STRONG TIES WITH LAGOS GOVERNMENT, THAT IS TO SAY IN A CONFEDERATION."

2. IF ZINSOU'S REMARKS ARE A DELIBERATE STATEMENT OF POLICY, THIS REPRESENTS DEKIDED CHANGE IN DAHOMEY POSITION ON BIAFRA. WHILE IN PRIVATE EXPRESSING SYMPATHY FOR BIAFRA, GRDI OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN EXTREMELY CAREFUL MAKE NO OFFICIAL STATEMENTS WHICH COULD BE INTERPRETED AS SUPPORT FOR BIAFRA. WITH NIGERIA NEXT DOOR AND LARGE YORUBA POPULATION IN PORTO NOVO AREA, GRDI HAS FOR MONTHS REASONED IT HAD NOTHING TO GAIN AND POTENTIALLY MUCH TO LOSE BY TAKING A POSITION FAVORABLE TO BIAFRA. REMAINS TO BE SEEN IF ZINSOU MADE STATEMENT AS HIS COUNTERPART TO ASSISTANCE OFFERED DAHOMEY BY DE GAULLE OR IF STATEMENT A SLIP OF THE TONGUE UNDER PRESSURE REPORTERS' QUESTIONS.  
 CLINGERMAN

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
 POL 15 NIGERIA

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 By: MWA Date: 10/5/05

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POL 15-1 BIAFRA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

XPOL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 13030 271831Z

52  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, GPM 04, NSC 10, SP 02, SS 25, RSC 01, L 03, H 02, P 04,  
USIA 12, SAH 02, SCA 02, SCS 04, SR 01, ORM 03, INR 07, SSO 00, NSCE 00,  
CIAE 00, USIE 07, NSA 02, E 15, DOT 10, NIC 01, AID 28, PC 04, EA 10, R

RSR 01/197 W

P 271300Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2767  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
CINCSRIKE/CINCEAFSA  
DIA UNN  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA

UNCLAS LAGOS 13030

SUBJECT: OJUKWUS SPEECH ON BIAFRAS CURRENT POSITION

1. REBEL RADIO BROADCAST A TEXT OF AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT AT 1500 GMT ON SEPT 26 DESCRIBING OJUKWUS SPEECH TO A JOINT MEETING OF THE BIAFRAN CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY AND THE COUNCIL OF CHIEFS AND ELDERS.

2. SAYING FIGHT FOR FREEDOM HAS NEVER BEEN EASY, OJUK CALLED FOR REDEDICATION TO STRUGGLE, CLAIMING QTE WE CAN REGAIN LOSTS GROUND BY RENEWED EFFORT. UNQTE OJUKWU EMPHASIZED REBEL FORCES WILL COMBINE CONVENTIONAL AND GUERRILLA ACTION WHICH HE CONVINCED WILL DEFEAT ENEMY. QTE BIAFRAS WISHFUL ENEMIES AND DETRACTORS HAVE

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
XR POL 3 OAU  
Department of State TELEGRAM

SECRET 883

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02605 210918Z

17  
ACTION AF 16

INFO IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,  
P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02,  
AID 28, RSR 01, EUR 15, 153 W

P 210900Z SEP 68.  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2280  
INFO USMISSION USUN NY

SECRET NIAMEY 2605

SUBJ: OAU SUMMIT - NIGERIAN WAR  
- POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA XR POL 3 OAU  
REF: STATE 241962 NIAMEY 2594 - EECBAFR POL 27-9 B-N  
POL 7 NIGER

1. DEPT MAY WISH CONTACT GON AMB TO US AND UN MAYAKI WHO  
ACCOMPANIED PRESIDENT DIORI OAU SUMMIT AND REPORTEDLY NOW  
IN NEW YORK.

2. SECSTATE FONAFF SIDIKOU WHO EXPECTED RETURN NIAMEY END  
NEXT WEEK PRIOR PROCEEDING UNGA ALSO ACCOMPANIED DIORI OAU  
SUMMIT. WILL ATTEMPT OBTAIN HIS VIEWS AT THAT TIME.

GP-4 ADAMS

9-21-68  
Niamey  
2605

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Authority VND 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05



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TELEGRAM

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SECRET 153

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01787 211604Z

47  
ACTION: AFI 16

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 02, SCS 04, SAH 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

GPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12,

NSA 02, RSRI 01, 129 W

R 211530Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1974  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION NEW YORK

S E I C R I E T LIBREVILLE 1787

SUBJ: BIAFRA

REF: LIBREVILLE 1778

1. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS FONMIN SEC GEN BOUANGA AND  
NEWLY ARRIVED FONMIN TECH ADVISOR CLAUDE SOUBESE (OF  
FRENCH DIP SERVICE) TOLD ME THIS MORNING THEY HAVE  
NO IDEA WHAT IF ANY NEW OAU ACTION ON NIGERIAN WAR IN PROSPECT.  
BOTH OF OPINION GABON WILL FAVOR INSCRIPTION OF  
QUESTION ON UNGA AGENDA, THOUGH BOUANGA SAYS HE DOES NOT  
KNOW WHAT INSTRUCTIONS PRES BONGO HAS SENT FONMIN AYOUNE.  
BUT V BELIEVE LOGIC OF OAU SUMMIT RESOLUTION MEANS VAST MAJORITY  
AFRICAN STATES WILL OPPOSE INSCRIPTION.

2. BOUANGA SAID WHAT IS NEEDED FIRST IS CEASE FIRE AFTER  
WHICH QUESTION HOW CONFLICT TO BE RESOLVED CAN BE TAKEN  
UP. SIMILARLY SOUBESE, CITING AYOUNE PARIS STATEMENT  
(REFTEL), SAID HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS SHOULD TAKE

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TELEGRAM  
12

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PAGE 02 LIBREV 01787 211604Z

PRECEDENCE OVER PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.

3. BELIEVE APPROACH BY US TO PRESIDENT AT THIS TIME WOULD LIKELY  
PRODUCE ADVERSE REACTION DUE TO HIS DISILLUSIONED FRAME OF  
MIND AND APPARENTLY GROWING SENSE OF ISOLATION IN BIAFRAN  
QUESTION (LBVL 1709). GP 3 NELSON

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By	MMARA
Date	10/5/05



POB 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State <sup>UN 8-3</sup>  
**TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 979

PAGE 01 PARIS 21183 21102Z

21

ACTION IO 15

INFO EUR 15, AF 10, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SAH 02, RSR 01, SR 01,

ORM 03, AID 28, /147 W

R 211045Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6283  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 21183

SUBJ: FRANCE, NIGERIA AND UNITED NATIONS

1. QUAI DIRECTOR FOR UNITED NATIONS AFFAIRS (LACHARRIERE) TOLD DCM SEPTEMBER 20 THAT FONMIN DEBRE HAD SPENT BETTER PART OF CONVERSATION WITH U THANT SEPTEMBER 16 PRESSING SYG TO ACT ON BIAFRA. DEBRE PRESSED FOR UNITED NATIONS ACTION IN BOTH POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN FIELDS, BUT GOT NOWHERE ACCORDING TO LACHARRIERE. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT FRENCH HAVE NOT AS YET DECIDED WHAT, IF ANY, ACTION THEY SHOULD TAKE ON NIGERIAN CONFLICT AT UNGA OTHER THAN FOR DEBRE TO HIT HARD IN FAVOR OF BIAFRA IN HIS GENERAL DEBATE SPEECH. SHRIVER

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 108

PAGE 01 LAGOS 12869 211409Z

59  
ACTION: AF 16

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SA 01, SAH 02, ACDA 16,

AID 28, SR 01, RSR 01, J 63, W

P R 211300Z SEPI 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2670  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 12869

SUBJECT: CANADIANS STILL IN HOT WATER WITH FMG

REF: LAGOS 12805

1. CANADIAN COUNSELOR (PROTECT) INFORMS US HICOMER URGENTLY CALLED IN BY EXTAFF PERMSEC AFTERNOON SEPT 20 TO DISCUSS FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN FMG-CANADIAN CONTRETEMPS TRIGGERED BY SHARP STATEMENT SEPT 17 IN CANADIAN HOUSE OF COMMONS (REPORTED REFTEL).

2. PERMSEC POINTED OUT FMG HAD INVITED CANADIAN MILITARY OBSERVER BECAUSE IT ANXIOUS CANADIANS IN PARTICULAR SHOULD BE "REASSURED" CONCERNING FMG CONDUCT OF WAR. IN VIEW GOC ACCEPTANCE FMG OFFER AND DISPATCH OF GENERAL MILROY, FMG DISAPPOINTED GOC DID NOT AWAIT FIRST-HAND REPORTS BEFORE ANNOUNCING READINESS SEEK UN INTERVENTION ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS. FMG ALSO DISAPPOINTED GOC DID NOT REPEAT NOT EVEN REFER TO MILROY'S RESPONSIBILITIES IN REPLY TO OPPOSITION QUERY.

3. FMG RECOGNIZED GOC HAD TO RESPOND TO OPPOSITION CRITICISM AND APPRECIATED STATEMENT NOT NECESSARILY DEFINITIVE GOC POLICY DETERMINATION. HOWEVER PERMSEC

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

27

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PAGE 02: LAGOS 12869: 211409Z.

DID ASK HICOMER FOR CONFIDENTIAL "EXPLANATION AND CLARIFICATION OF PRECISELY WHAT GOC HAS IN MIND REGARDING UN INTERVENTION."

4. PERMSEC ADDED POINT RAISING MATTER IN UN CONTEXT CERTAIN TO ENCOURAGE REBELS WHICH WOULD IN TURN ONLY PROLONG SUFFERING.

5. CANADIANS GOT WORD FROM WHAT THEY CONSIDER RELIABLE SOURCE THAT FMG HAD SERIOUSLY DISCUSSED ASKING FOR WITHDRAWAL MILROY.

6. CANADIANS HERE TELL US THEY HOPE GET OFF HOOK BY SENDING LETTER FROM GOC TO UNSYG THANT AND GIVING COPY TO FMG TODAY. LETTER WILL NOT BE DELIVERED TO U THANT UNTIL 12 NOON EST TODAY. ALTHOUGH AT THIS TIME PRECISE TEXT OF LETTER FROM SHARP TO U THANT IS NOT DEFINITE, THE KEY OPERATING PHRASES WILL BE: "I REALIZE THAT TO RAISE THE SITUATION IN NIGERIA IN GENERAL TERMS BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WOULD BE DIVISIVE, THERE MAY BE NONTHELESS A ROLE FOR THE UN IN STIMULATING EFFECTIVE ACTION ON THE HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM OF DELIVERY OF RELIEF SHIPMENTS TO THE NEEDY..." "GOVERNMENT OF CANADA WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR YOUR VIEWS AS TO ANY ADDITIONAL WAY THE GOOD OFFICE OF THE UN MIGHT BE BROUGHT TO BEAR IN RELIEVING THE SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE OF NIGERIA..." "WE ARE STUDYING POSSIBLE MEASURES WHICH MIGHT BE TAKEN BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION TO ASSIST BOTH IN ALLEVIATING EFFECTS OF THE FIGHTING AND IN THE VITAL WORK OF RECONSTRUCTION IN DEVASTATED AREAS."

MATHEWS:

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By	MW/ARA Date 10/5/05

/ACTION		
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RM/R	REP	AF
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		6

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

**AIRGRAM**

LAB 2 NIGERIA

POLO 7 BIAFRA -  
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NIGERIA

A-846

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SEP 23 8 37 AM 1968

ANALYSIS BRANCH

FROM : American Embassy - Lagos

DATE: Sept 21, 1968

SUBJECT: Transmitting Report by British Labor Attaché on The  
Employment Situation in the Nigerian Crisis

REF

Enclosed is a copy of a report dated August 14, 1968, entitled "The Employment Situation in the Nigerian Crisis", which was prepared by the British Labor Attaché.

According to the report, which reviews the present situation and the prospects over the next two to three years, the Nigerian economy will be faced with the problem of absorbing a half million would-be entrants into the labor force during that period. This will constitute a 33% increase in the present estimated labor force of one-and-a-half million workers. (Figures do not include the former Eastern Region.)

Nigeria will also have to find a solution to the problem of reintegrating an estimated 150,000 Ibo workers after the war, and finding employment for about 40,000 demobilized servicemen. The prewar average of about 100,000 school leaver job seekers each year will continue at about that level.

The report discounts the possibility that Ibos will be able to return to their traditional occupations -- the top civil service, the railways, and upper level management. These jobs have been filled, permanently, and even where vacancies exist or occur, they will in the future be filled by local people under an almost mandatory "hire local" policy.

Some civil service jobs will be reserved for Ibos, and of course the "hire local" policy will apply in the East-Central State. However, these measures will do little more than scratch the surface of the problem.

FORM 4-68 05-323

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Drafted by:

LABATT:CMH:son,rr.:rh 9/18/68

Contents and Classification Approved by:

POL:EERamsaur

Clearances:

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By: MN NARA Date: 10/5/05

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Page 2 to Lagos A- 846

The report views as the most distressing aspect of the situation the fact that virtually no planning to meet these urgent problems is being carried out by the Government -- beyond general discussion of the possibility of establishing job quotas for ex-servicemen.

MATHEWS

Enclosure: *[Handwritten signature]*  
Report as noted.

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By	MNARA Date 10/5/05



*Pal 27 Biafra-Nigeria*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

43

41

CONFIDENTIAL 197

PAGE 01 USUNIN 06607 211805Z

53:

ACTION: IO 15:

INFO: AF 10, EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, PI 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SA 01, SAL 01, SAH 02, SR 01,

ACDA 16, SCS 04, SCA 02, RSR 01, AID 28, 168 W

R 211730Z SEPI 68:

FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 327

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

CONFIDENTIAL USUN 6607

BIAFRA

BACKES (AUSTRIA) TOLD FINGER TODAY THAT IN LIGHT OF OAU  
RES ON NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR, SWEDS AND AUSTRIANS FEEL THERE  
IS LITTLE OR NO CHANCE OF PRODUCTIVE DISCUSSION IN GA.

GP-3:

BALL

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET 600

PAGE 01 LAGOS 12818 200839Z

ACTION COPY

12  
ACTION SS: 30

INFO SSO 00, CCO 00, /030 W

P: 200800Z SEP 68.  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2635  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

SECRET LAGOS 12818

EXDIS - NOFORN

SUBJ: BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVES DISCUSS SURRENDER

REF: LONDON 12775

1. OF THREE POINTS ON WHICH KOGBARA INDICATED FOREIGN, INCLUDING US, HELP WOULD BE NEEDED, POINTS A AND B COVER THINGS WE HAVE ALREADY DONE AND CAN CONTINUE TO DO. POINT C IS ANOTHER MATTER AND I AM SURE DEPARTMENT CAN THINK OF EVEN MORE REASONS THAN I WHY US SHOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN OBSERVER MILITARY FORCE IN NIGERIA.

2. SHOULD OJUKWU REJECT INITIATIVE OF PARIS GROUP, I HOPE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT WILL BE ABLE PERSUADE AT LEAST SOME MEMBERS OF GROUP TO CALL PUBLICLY FOR END OF SECESSION AND WAR.

3. THIS IS CLEARLY NO TIME FOR INITIATIVES TO BRING NIGERIAN SITUATION INTO UN ON HUMANITARIAN OR ANY OTHER GROUNDS.

GP-3. MATHEWS:

1968 SEP 20 AM 6 13

LAGOS 12818  
9-20-68

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Authority VND 959503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05



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S/S	8&9	Classification	Secret	
S/S-Screening	27, 28, 29	Post	Lagos	Dputy
S/S-S-CBS	30, 31 ✓	Serial No.	12818	Dputy
S/S-O	11	Date	September 20, 1968	
PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS		
S	✓ 4	AF	✓✓ 14, 15	
U	✓ 5	ARA		
M	✓ 6	EA		
G	✓ 7	EOR	✓ 16	
G/PM		NBA		
S/AM	<del>10</del>	OTHER AGENCIES		
S/AL	<del>12</del>	White House	✓✓ 2, 3	
S/C		Vice President	<del>7</del>	
S/P		Defense	✓ 18	
		CIA	✓ 19	
		NSA		
FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS		Treasury		
E		State Rep	✓ 20	
H		ACDA		
IRR	✓ 13	AID		
IO		AID/VN		
I		USIA		
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F		OTHER		

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Authority: VMD 954503  
By: MWA/ARA Date: 10/5/05

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
XR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA 241961

CONFIDENTIAL  
Classification

XR POL 3 OAU  
XR POL 16 BIAFRA

20 SEP 68 00 25z

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Origin

Info

ACTION: ALL AFRIGAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS  
AAL EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

Amconsul LAUNDA.  
" SALISBURY  
" LOURENCO MARQUES.  
USUN  
Amembassy MOSCOW (POUCH) ✓✓

INFORM CONSULS-

Sub: Nigerian Summary

Posts may draw on following and earlier summaries (State 230178, State 220643, State 214866, State 207721) as appropriate in discussions with host government officials.

1. OU Meeting at Algiers. After defeat of bid by Tunisia and six other states to get Nigerian question on agenda, OAU meeting approved resolution on Nigeria which called on Biafran leaders to cooperate with FMG in restoring unity of Nigeria, recommended general amnesty by FMG and federal cooperation with OAU in assuring personal security of all Nigerians QTE if foregoing conditions are fulfilled, UNQTE appealed for rapid dispatch of relief, and asked member states of OAU and UN to abstain from any action susceptible of impairing unity and territorial integrity of Nigeria. OAU resolution also invited its Consultative Committee to continue its activities on question. Dept. now attempting ascertain what Committee, and especially Emperor of Ethiopia, may be planning as next step. Final

4

Drafted by: AF/W/Brach:ba 9/19/68

Tel. Ext. 2946

Telegraphic transmission and Roy M. Melbourne  
classification approved by: Nigeria Task Force

Clearances:

IO-Mr. Briggs (sub)

AF-Amb. Moore (sub)

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Classification

FORM DS-322  
8-65

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Authority: VIND 950503  
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/03

Page 2 of telegram to mCIRCULAR

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resolution approved by 33 states with four opposed (Tanzania, Zambia, ~~Bz~~ Gabon and Ivory Coast, all of which recognize Biafra) and two abstaining (Rwanda and Botswana). Kaunda of Zambia left conference early after refusing vice-presidency of meeting, but Zambian ~~spokesmen~~ spokesmen denied departure caused by Kaunda's public irritation with Boumedienne's opening speech which castigated Biafra and its QTE imperialist UNQTE supporters.

2. Military Situation. With capture of Aba and Owerri, FMG troops in overwhelming force continue to close in on remaining Biafran territory, which packed with refugees (both Aba and Owerri almost deserted when occupied). Fighting causing heavy ~~casualties~~ casualties to both sides. Biafran resistance, far from disintegrating, is QTE almost suicidal, UNQTE according one observer. Biafrans retook Oguta in bayonet charge several days ago, for example. Biafran statements indicate that prolonged guerrilla warfare is intended, but one Biafran spokesman has denied possibility of government-in-exile. FMG spokesmen will not predict early end to formal fighting and have hedged Gowon's estimate of QTE four to eight weeks UNQTE made at September 9 press conference.

3. Relief Flights. ICRC interrupted relief flights into Biafra September 15 and 16 but resumed Sept. 17 with seven flights. Cargo averages 70 to 90 tons <sup>on nights</sup> ~~on nights~~ when flights possible. Night flights from ~~Libreville~~ Libreville and Sao Tome by Volags also continuing despite possibility airstrips in Biafra may soon be captured. ICRC has abandoned attempts to obtain agreement between FMG and Biafra on daytime flights. Air drops being considered for use when Biafran airstrips no longer in rebel hands.

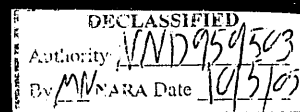
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4. International Observer Team. Observers from UN, OAU, UK, Poland, Sweden and Canada have been invited by FMG to accompany troops in field and observe conduct towards civilians. British, Swedish and Canadian observers--all senior military men--were in Lagos by Sept. 17 to discuss terms of reference and ensure they have complete freedom of movement.
5. UN Action. Senior FMG official who was at Algiers has indicated FMG pleased at OAU results, especially U Thant's reiteration of view that conflict was African problem and strengthening of African support for this viewpoint. FMG not worried about attitudes of Africans, Latins or Asians at UN, but expect QTE difficulties UNQTE in GA because of <sup>Scandinavian</sup> ~~Scandinavian~~ initiatives. Dept. believes number of delegations including Canada may decide raise humanitarian aspects of question in GA. In view attitude of Africans, most of whom oppose UN consideration of problem, significant and fruitful GA action could be difficult to achieve. At least one knowledgeable African diplomat is concerned ~~x~~ that FMG would oppose UN consideration with support Soviet bloc and upshot would be QTE further drift UNQTE of FMG towards Soviet bloc. Countries with humanitarian concern in Nigeria might QTE overplay hand UNQTE and inadvertently create QTE UAR in West Africa. UNQTE.
6. DeGaulle's Attitude. De Gaulle statement on Biafra September 9 foresaw recognition by France as possible future QTE decisive UNQTE action. Dept. inclined agree with African ~~xxxx~~ observer who said French recognition ~~UNQTE~~ of no use UNQTE unless De Gaulle prepared intervene militarily. Gabon and Ivory Coast are reported QTE disappointed UNQTE with French willingness to leave overt support of Biafra in their hands while French only making statements in Paris. Amount of military aid

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Page 4 of telegram to CIRCULAR AF AND EUR DIP POSTS

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Classification

reaching Biafra from French supported sources has probably increased recently but is believed too little and too late to affect outcome. Francophone recognitions and ~~xxxxx~~ possibly French recognition of Biafra still possible as emotional gesture.

7. Future Negotiations. Outlook is grim. Addis talks ended fruitlessly Sept. 9; both sides felt negotiations were not in earnest. Nigerian Finance Commissioner Awolowo said in Algiers that FMG wanted military victory and Biafran spokesmen have repeated determination not to give up bid for independence.

8. HSG Policy and Relief Activities. Paras 4 and 5 of State 230178 remain current.

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Classification

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

241962

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET

Classification

Origin	ACTION: Amembassy	ACCRA	↑
	"	ADDIS ABABA	PRIORITY
Info:	"	KINSHASA	"
	"	MONROVIA	"
	"	NIAMEY	"
	"	RABAT	"
	"	YAOUNDE	"
	"	LUSAKA	"
	Amembassy	ABIDJAN	"
	"	LIBREVILLE	"
	"	DAR ES SALAAM	"
	INFO: Amembassy	LAGOS	
	"	LONDON	
	"	<del>KUSAKA</del>	
	USMission	GENEVA	
		USUN NY	

20 SEP 68 00 262

*Circular*

241962

NOTAL  
STATE

SUBJECT: OAU Summit: Nigerian War

REFS: State 239198 (NOTAL) and 239199 (NOTAL) and Niamey 2594 (NOTAL)  
as soon as possible

1. Department most desirous of gaining insights into thinking of African leaders who were members of OAU Consultative Committee or from states which have recognized Biafra who may be available following their return from OAU summit meeting. Particularly interested to learn steps OAU intends to take after passage of resolution on Nigeria in pursuing arrangements for humanitarian relief routes and in working toward ceasefire. As addressees aware, if no substantive OAU action in prospect, there is growing international sentiment to try to inscribe humanitarian relief aspect of Nigerian problem on UNGA agenda. At such time African attitudes would be extremely important factor.

2. Unless Embassy perceives objection, please request early meeting with head

MICROFILMED BY RS/R

Drafted by:	AFW:RMMelbourne:emb	9/19/68	Tel. Ext.	2619	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:	Roy M. Melbourne
Clearances:	AF - Ambassador Moore (Substance)		AF/CW - Mr. Schaefeles		Nigeria Task Force	
	AF/NE - Mr. Loomam		UNP - Mr. Briggs (Info)			
	AF/E - Mr. Feld		AF/SE - Mr. Holmes			

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

0703

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Authority: VND 954503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

Page 2 of telegram to CIRCULAR PRIORITY

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~~xx~~ member of Consultative Committee or  
of state ~~xx~~/subordinate appropriate official who would be in position to provide  
kind of information which we are seeking. ~~xx member of Consultative Committee~~

3. In states which have recognized Biafra would welcome information which Embassies  
can discreetly obtain. If any such Embassy considers that it also could make  
approach to head of state or ranking official without adverse reaction it should do  
so.

END

RUSK

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FORM DS-322A  
8-63  
CONTINUATION SHEET

0704

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Authority VND 959503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/03

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Authority: VND 954503  
By: MN NARA Date: 10/5/05



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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State <sup>XR POL 30AU</sup> **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 762

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05816 210645Z

22  
ACTION: AF 16

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,  
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SAH 02, AID 28, SR 01,  
ORM 03, RSR 01, /151 W

R 201530Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7114  
INFO USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION USUN

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 5816  
SUBJ: OAU SUMMIT: NIGERIAN WAR  
REF: STATE 241962

1. NONE OF SENIOR IEG OFFICIALS DEALING WITH NIGERIAN QUESTION WHO ATTENDED ALGIERS CONFERENCES HAVE YET RETURNED ADDIS. MOFA OFFICIALS WHO CAN BE REACHED DISCLAIM ANY KNOWLEDGE FURTHER PLANS HIM OR CONS COMMITTEE. MOFA MINSTATE TESFAYE EXPECTED TO BE FIRST BACK SOMETIME THIS WEEKEND, AND HOPE TO TALK WITH HIM EARLY NEXT WEEK.

2. EMBASSY ALSO BIRD-DOGGING RETURN TO ADDIS OF SENIOR OAU SECRETARIAT PERSONNEL AND AFRICAN AMBASSADORS WHO ATTENDED ALGIERS. HALL

*Addis Ababa 5816  
9-20-68*

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 3 OAU  
POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 041

PAGE 01 ABIDJA 04353 201405Z

52  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 25, USIA 12, AID 28, PC 04, SR 01, SA 01,

SAH 02, SAL 01, RSR 01, /154 W

R 201115Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2972  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

UNCLAS ABIDJAN 4353

SUBJ: OAU SUMMIT

1. ON RETURN FROM ALGIERS SEPT 19 FONMIN USHER TOLD PRESS ALGIERS MEETING ONE OF MOST DIFFICULT IN OAU HISTORY. HEADS OF STATE WISHED HOLD MEETINGS BEHIND CLOSED DOORS, BUT OUTSIDERS ABLE PERCEIVE THAT SOME RESULTS OBTAINED. DEBATES, AS IN ALL DEMOCRATIC MEETINGS, WERE STORMY, IMPASSIONED AND DIFFICULT. HOWEVER, USHER SAID, DECISIONS WERE MADE, SOME OF WHICH WE HAVE NOT AGREED WITH. SOME SAY CONFERENCE WAS SUCCESS, OTHERS HAVE DIFFERING OPINIONS. PERSONALLY, USHER SAID, I WOULD SAY CONFERENCE NOT AS SUCCESSFUL AS SOME OTHERS. DIFFICULT FOR A FONMIN TO QUALIFY DEBATES OF HEADS OF STATE, BUT PRELIMINARY MINISTERIAL DEBATES, WHICH INFLUENCED THOSE OF HEADS OF STATE, WERE STORMY, SOMETIMES COMING CLOSE TO A BREAKUP. BUT AS EACH PARTICIPANT HAD AT HEART, ABOVE ALL PERSONAL OPINIONS, THE SUPERIOR INTEREST OF AFRICA, AT THE LAST MINUTE IT WAS REMEMBERED THAT AFRICA EXISTS, THAT IT NEEDS TO UNITE, AND THAT EACH MUST MAKE SOME CONCESSIONS.

2. ASKED ABOUT NIGERIAN SITUATION, USHER SAID SERIOUSNESS OF PROBLEM WAS NOT FELT AT FIRST, BUT IT BROKE OUT SPONTANEOUSLY ON SECOND DAY. THIS WAS TO BE EXPECTED SINCE UNISSEGEN THANT HAD

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Abidjan  
4353  
9-20-68

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MNA Date: 10/5/05

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*POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA*  
*YR POL 3 OAU*  
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**

19

SECRET 810

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01778 202052Z

88

ACTION AF 16

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, O 0

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02,

AID 28, SAH 02, RSR 01, 157 W

R 201630Z SEP 68  
 FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
 TO: SECSTATE WASHDC 1969  
 INFO: CUTAIK/AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN 166  
 AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
 AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS  
 USMISSION GENEVA  
 USMISSION NEW YORK

SECRET LIBREVILLE 1778

SUBJ: BIAFRA

REF STATE 241962 NOTAL

1. PUBLICLY, AT LEAST, GABON ADVOCATES INSCRIPTION BIAFRAN QUESTION ON UNGA AGENDA. EDITORIAL IN GOVT NEWS BULLETIN GABON MATIN SEPT 4 DECLARED "IT FOR OAU AND UN TO INTERVENE IN SPIRIT OF CHARTERS GOVERNING THEM" (PARA 3, LIBREVILLE 1697 NOTAL). GABON MATIN TODAY SEPT 20 REPORTS ON TATXENT MADE BY GABONSE FONMINI AYOUNE IN PARIS YESTERDAY CALLING FOR UNGA ACTION.

2. IN HIS PARIS STATEMENT AYOUNE SAID THOSE WHO VOTED FOR OAU NIGERIAN RESOLUTION AT ALGIERS "MADE THEMSELVES ACCOMPLICES IN IMMENSE GENOCIDE" AND UNDER PRETEXT AVOIDANCE INTERFERENCE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OAU MEMBER, "THEY FAILED TAKE ACCOUNT SIMPLE RIGHTS OF MAN. WE DO NOT WISH PLACE IN QUESTION TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY SUCH AND

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*Libreville 1778*  
*9-20-68*

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LIBREV 01778 202052Z

SUCH A COUNTRY BUT WHEN ONE CHOOSES SIMPLY TO PLACE THE RIGHT TO TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AHEAD OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN WE THINK IT DISTURBING. SOONER OR LATER IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR THE UN TO FIND A SOLUTION MAKING POSSIBLE THE ENDING OF SUCH SITUATIONS. IF NOT, WE WILL RESEMBLE PEASANTS WHO WATCH PANTHER DEVOUR CHICKENS AND DO NOT INTERVENE ON PRETEXT IT TAKING PLACE NEXT DOOR. IT GRAVE MATTER THAT OAU DID NOT COMPREHEND THIS. I FAVOR INSCRIPTION OF BIAFRAN AFFAIR ON NEXT UNGA AGENDA AND AM AWAITING INSTRUCTIONS FROM MY GOVT IN THIS REGARD. AYOUNE REMARKED FURTHER THAT POPULATION IN BIAFRA REDUCED TO ONE-THIRD OF ORIGINAL FIGURE, THAT LAND LAID WASTE BY NIGERIANS WHO "HAVE BEHAVED LIKE ATTLA," AND THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE RECONCILIATION POSSIBLE FOR HE CONVINCED BIAFRANS WOULD CONTINUE STRUGGLE WITH GUERILLA WARFARE. CONCLUDED WITH DESCRIPTION OF GABONESE EFFORTS RE BIAFRA AS "PURELY HUMANITARIAN" AND CHARACTERIZED AS "GROTESQUE" REPORTS FROM UKI THAT BIAFRAN GOVT IN EXILE WOULD BE ESTABLISHED IN LIBREVILLE.

3. COMMENT: WOULD APPEAR FROM AYOUNE STATEMENT, WHICH IT MOST UNLIKELY WOULD HAVE BEEN MADE WITHOUT BONGO APPROVAL, THAT GABONESE EXPECT NOTHING FURTHER OF CONSTRUCTIVE NATURE FROM OAU AND THAT IN ABSENCE OTHER ALTERNATIVES (SUCH AS THE GREAT POWER SUPPORT OF BIAFRA BONGO WANTS), ATTEMPT SHOULD BE MADE ACHIEVE SOMETHING AT UNGA. AS FAR AS BONGO CONCERNED, HOWEVER, HE EXPECTS NO MORE OF UN THAN HE DID OF OAU (LIBREVILLE 1709).

4. ATTEMPTING SECURE FURTHER INFO REQUESTED REFTEL. AT PRESENT THERE NO ONE HERE WHO ATTENDED OAU SUMMIT. SUGGEST USUN CONTACT AYOUNE WHO WAS THERE, THOUGH FEAR THAT AS USUAL HE WILL NOT BE PARTICULARLY ENLIGHTENING. GP 3 NELSON

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By	MNARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
XR POL 3 OAU  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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SECRET 685

PAGE 01 LONDON 12832 202001Z

85

ACTION: AFI 16

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, CIAEI 00, DODEI 00, GPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, SA 01, SAH 02, AID 28, ORM 03,

SR 01, ACDA 16, RSRI 01, 168 W

R 201717Z SEP 68  
FMI AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6181  
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY DARI ES SALAAMI  
US MISSION GENEVA 851  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

SECRET LONDON 12832

NOFORN

SUBJECT: NIGERIA; OAU MEETING IN ALGIERS

1. WE HAVE PICKED UP FROM BRITISH AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT  
SOME SCRAPS OF INFO ON OAU HANDLING OF NIGERIAN PROBLEM THAT  
MAY BE OF INTEREST. KENYA VP ARAPI NOT INFORMED CW SECTY  
THOMSON RECENTLY IN LONDON THAT NIGERIAN DELEGATION HAD MADE  
UNUSUALLY EFFECTIVE PRESENTATION OF FMG'S CASE BOTH  
FORMALLY AND IN CORRIDORS. AWOLOWO WAS PARTICULARLY SUCCESS-  
FUL IN COMBINING FIRMNESS IN DEFENSE OF NIGERIAN SOVEREIGNTY  
WITH FLEXIBILITY ON OTHER POINTS, SUCH AS TREATMENT OF IBOS, ETC.

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London 12832  
9-20-68

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By: MVA Date: 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LONDON 128321 202001Z

2. COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT'S ARNOLD SMITH TELLS US HE TALKED WITH NYERERE IN MOSHI LAST WEEK AND THOUGHT HE WAS DISTINCTLY UNCOMFORTABLE ABOUT TANZANIA'S RECOGNITION OF BIAFRA. NYERERE HAD GONE THROUGH MOTIONS OF DEFENDING BIAFRAN CASE BUT WAS APPARENTLY FRANK IN ADMITTING THAT EVENTS WERE NOT DEVELOPING AS HE HAD EXPECTED. SMITH THOUGHT NYERERE HAD BEEN SHAKEN BY OVERWHELMING SUPPORT MANIFESTED FOR FMG AT ALGIERS. BRUCE

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0711

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Authority: VNP 959503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

ORIGIN/ACTION

RM/R	REP	AF
1		
ARA	EUN	FF
	5	
NEA	CU	INH
		5
E	P	IO
4	2	5
L	FBO	AIO
		20
S/S	S/P	G/P
10	1	1
AGR	COM	FRB
INT	LAB	TAR
TR	XMB	AIR
		5
ARMY	CIA	NAVY
3	20	5
OSO	USIA	NSA
34	10	3
		15/6

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

POL 18 NIGERIA  
NRBL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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SEP 27 11 40 AM 1968

RS/AN  
ANALYSIS BRANCH

TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INFO : IBADAN, LAGOS

FROM : Amconsul KADUNA

DATE: September 20, 1968

SUBJECT : Western State Military Governor Visits Kwara State

REF :

Western State Military Governor Adeyinka Adebayo paid an official five-day visit to Kwara State September 10 through 14. The stated purpose of his visit was to promote the unity of Nigeria through inter-State contacts. It is more likely that Adebayo's visit was precipitated by an increase of anti-Yoruba sentiments in Kwara State which culminated in anti-Yoruba riots among the Igbirra tribe in Lokoja, the capital of Kabba Division. When reports of similar anti-Yoruba feeling arose in other parts of the North earlier this year, Adebayo undertook a similar pilgrimage to Kaduna, Kano and Jos in the course of which he attempted to assure Northerners that the Yorubas were not their enemies, and to urge the Yorubas in the North to cease worrying needlessly about their welfare. Adebayo's public addresses in Kwara seemed to confirm that he was on the same mission there.

Adebayo's visit stimulated rumors of a Yoruba plan to merge all or part of Kwara into the Western State to the detriment of the North, and the minority tribes in Kwara. More moderate Northerners argued that the relatively rich Western State was planning to provide some sort of aid to Kwara which is known to have serious financial problems. To some extent this speculation was borne out by Adebayo's promise of educational assistance (see below). In general, however, there seems to have been only slight Northern interest in the visit. Kwara State is on the southern fringe of the North and it is an area to which most far-Northerners attach comparatively little importance.

Adebayo's visit took him to Ilorin, the State capital; Lokoja, the scene of the anti-Yoruba riots; and Kainji, the site of the recently-completed Niger River dam. He delivered public addresses at receptions given by the Emir of Ilorin, the Attah of Igala in Lokoja, Kwara State Military Governor Lt. Colonel Bamigboye, and during a review of the Nigerian Army detachment at Ilorin. He also met with representatives of the Yoruba community in Lokoja.

FORM 4-62 DS-323

Decontrolled following September 20, 1970.

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Drafted by:

TPGallagher:dal 9-20-68

Contents and Classification Approved by:

Birney A. Stokes

Clearances:

0712

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Authority: VIND 954503  
By: MN/ARA Date: 10/5/03

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Kaduna A-87

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In his address at the Emir of Ilorin's reception on September 10 Adebayo said that it was the duty of Nigeria's military rulers to leave at the end of their administration a legacy of love and sound administration for the people. If they fail to do so, he said, it will be hard for the politicians to accomplish this end when they return to power. He said that the new States were created to remove ill-will, suspicion and misunderstanding among the various sections of the community. Also, obviously for the benefit of his host, he said that the military rulers have a great respect for the chieftancy institution and that they will do everything in their power to keep traditional rulers in their proper places of customary reverence. In reply the Emir of Ilorin praised Adebayo's efforts in promoting unity and suggested that Obas and Chiefs should undertake interstate visits like Adebayo's to promote unity among the people (see FBIS 120800Z September).

In Lokoja Adebayo called on the twelve States to be ready to preserve their integrity socially, economically and politically in order to satisfy the aspirations of their people. (Comment: His stress on maintaining the integrity of each State may have been intended to allay any suspicions that he was toying with the idea of a merger of Kwara with Western State to the detriment of Kwara's minority tribes.) He also pointed out that his recent call for self-help projects is a message directed to every Nigerian and not to the Yorubas alone (Kwara has copied Western State in attempting to develop a self-help program, but the idea has met with some opposition in Kabba). In an address to the Yoruba community in Lokoja, Adebayo implored them to regard themselves as part and parcel of the people of Kwara and to carry out their business peacefully. In response the Yorubas reportedly told Adebayo that they are living peacefully in Lokoja and requested him to thank the people of Kwara on their behalf (see FBIS 121530Z September).

In his address to the Army in Ilorin Adebayo said that the molestation of civilians by soldiers was a disgrace to the Nigerian Army. He also told the soldiers that the Army would be reorganized at the end of the civil war. The proposed reorganization, he said, would include equal rights for promotion for soldiers who had served at the rear as well as for those who had served at the front during the war. Perhaps having had second thoughts about his reference to molestation of civilians by soldiers, Adebayo noted in his speech in Lokoja that he was satisfied with the sense of discipline in the armed forces (see FBIS 121530Z September).

In his farewell speech at a reception given by Governor Bamigboye, Adebayo directly denied the rumors circulating in the North that he was plotting to merge the Yorubas of Kwara into the Western State. He described the rumors as "unfounded" and noted that he was a party to the present structure of 12 States and said that it would be "absurd for anyone to suggest that I should

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



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Authority	VND 959503
By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05

ORIGIN/ACTION			DEPARTMENT OF STATE		POL 1 NIGERIA-US	
AF-5			AIRGRAM		XR AID NIGERIA	
20			A-88		FOR RM USE ONLY	
CONFIDENTIAL			NO.		XR POL 27 BARRA NIGERIA	
HANDLING INDICATOR			RECEIVED		SEP 27 11 40 AM 1968	
TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE			INFO : IBADAN, LAGOS		ANALYSIS BRANCH	
FROM : Amconsul KADUNA			SUBJECT : Former Minister, now Kano State Commissioner, Comments on Economic Assistance, the United States Position on Nigeria and General Gowon		DATE: September 20, 1968	
REF :			SUMMARY		7	
<p>Alhaji Maitama Sule, former Federal Minister of Mines and Power and presently Kano State Commissioner for Local Government, made the following remarks to the reporting officer and the BPAO/Kano:</p> <p><u>Economic Assistance:</u> Nigeria should continue to seek foreign assistance but scrutinize it carefully for possible adverse political or social effects. The war-torn areas should get first priority but not to the detriment of the rest of the country.</p> <p><u>U.S. Policy on Nigeria:</u> The United States hands off policy was a deep disappointment to Nigerians but he now believes it has been a blessing for Nigeria.</p> <p><u>General Gowon:</u> He believes Gowon is following the tradition of leadership set by Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa and he is the only kind of man who could lead Nigeria in the present circumstances in the country.</p> <p>*****</p> <p>Alhaji Maitama said he disagreed with the handful of people in this country who hold that Nigeria should refuse further foreign economic assistance. (Note: Alhaji Maitama may have been referring, among others, to the Permanent Secretary of the Federal Ministry of Economic Development, A.A. Ayida, who is reported to have made a statement in Paris to the effect that Nigeria, having paid its own costs in the current crisis, would foot the costs of its own economic reconstruction as well.) Alhaji Maitama said</p>			<p>Downgraded at 3 year intervals.</p> <p>Declassified 12 years after date of origin.</p> <p>GROUP 1 -- CONFIDENTIAL</p>		<p>FOR DEPT. USE ONLY</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> In <input type="checkbox"/> Out</p>	
FORM 4-62 DS-323			Drafted by: BASTOKES:dal 9-20-68		Contents and Classification Approved by:	
Clearances:			SEP 27 11 43		CONFIDENTIAL	

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Authority: VND 954503

By: MN NARA Date: 10/5/05

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Kaduna A-88

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that in his view developing countries cannot afford to and, in the closely-integrated world of today, simply cannot cut themselves off from the rest of the international community, particularly not from their traditional friends. He said he believes that it is wise for Nigeria to continue to seek foreign economic assistance if only "to spread the risk." He said that he thinks the main consideration is for developing countries to examine foreign aid prospects with an eye to avoiding those which might damage or destroy the developing country's political or social fabric. He said this applies equally to "our new-found friends--the Soviet Union" as well as to our traditional friends.

With regard to specific development projects, Alhaji Maitama said that it is vital to have non-partisan feasibility studies and other evaluations done before proceeding with specific development projects. He deplored the "white elephant" projects that dot the map of Nigeria which he said had been brought into existence under the former civilian government through the corruption of politicians and their collusion with foreign contractors. He said he was proud that, while he had had the opportunity "to make plenty of money" (from the oil companies) as Minister of Mines and Power under the Government of Tafawa Balewa, he had earned the reputation for not operating that way and he believes he still enjoys this reputation.

Maitama says that he believes that the major aid effort after the end of the civil war should be directed to the reconstruction of the areas damaged in the fighting. He said that everything should be done to provide immediate relief and to try to get the economy turning over again in the war-torn areas. As specific examples, he said he had advised the Administrator of the liberated areas of Central-Eastern State, Mr. Ukpabi Asika, to push for lifting of the Federal ban on stockfish imports because this is a valuable, traditional dietary item for the people of that area. He said the country could and should accept certain economic losses that would be posed by such concessions to the relief and reconstruction of the war-torn areas. He also suggested certain commercial arrangements for encouraging the reinstitution of internal trade in Nigeria between the Central-Eastern State and the other States of the Federation.

Despite his support of initial major reconstruction and development aid for the areas directly affected by the civil war, Alhaji Maitama sounded a note of caution. He said that the Federal Government would have to watch closely that the concentration of aid for reconstruction in the war areas did not go so far or continue for so long as to add to the already-existing imbalance of economic development in the country (i.e. between the southern and northern portions of Nigeria).

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By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05



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XR POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 754

PAGE 01 ALGIER 02263 202039Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, RSR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NEA 13, IO 13, SAH 02,

AID 28, /158 W

P 201813Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC RIROITY 3526  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

CONFIDENTIAL ALGIERS 2263

DEPT PASS AFRICAN CAPITALS

SUBJECT: OAU SUMMIT ACTION ON NIGERIA

1. WE SAUX IN OUR ROUND-UP ON FIFTH OAU SUMMIT (ALGIERS 2250 OF SEPT 17) THAT WITH REGARD TO OAU ACTION ON NIGERIA, MORE MUST HAVE TRANSPIRED BOTH IN POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN SECTORS THAN MERE DEBATE AND APPROVAL OF FMG-DRAFTED RESOLUTION. NOW THAT WE HAVE HAD OPPORTUNITY IN PAST FEW DAYS TO TALK TO NUMBER OF AFRICAN DIPLOMATS WHO PARTICIPATED IN OAU MEETINGS, WE HAVE NOT UNEARTHED EVIDENCE OF ANY NEW INITIATIVES.

2. OVECHWELMIVG CONSIDERATION INFLUENCING 33 OAU MEMBERS WHO VOTED IN FAVOR OF NIGERIAN RESOLUTION WAS OPPOSITIMN TO PRINCIPLE OF SECESSIONM AT GAME TIME HOWEVER, A NUMBER MK THOSE VOON INPWOR APPEAR TO BE SERIOUSLY CONCENCNO TVMT TVEIR VMTE WILL BE INTERPCETED BY FMG AS CARETE BLAMCVE APPROVAL OF ALL NIGERIAN POLICIES AND ACTIONS. THIS APPREHENSION CAME OUT MOST CLEARLY IN OWLK WITV HANAIAH CHACGE WHO SAID HIS GOVERNMENT AND SEVERAL OTHERS (HE NAMED ETHIOPIA, LIBERIA, IVORY COAST) WOULD CONTINUE EXERT PRESSURE FMG TO GET FOOD AND MEDECIENE INTO FIAFRA. WHEN ASKED HOW THESE COUNTRIES WOULD EXERT PRESSURE, HE XECAME VAGUEM OQR IMPRESSION IS THAT THERE MA BE FURTHER BILATERAL REPRESENTATIONS TO FMG, BUT

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Algeria 2263  
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By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05



44

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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Department of State  
**TELEGRAM**

SECRET 646

PAGE 01 DAR ES 04634 201914Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, AID 28, SAH 02, SR 01, ORM 03, ACDA 16, CIAE 00, DODE 00,  
GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12,  
NSA 02, SA 01, SCS 04, SCA 02, RSR 01, 174 W

R 201303Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4989  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY RABAT  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
RUEHDT/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 142

SECRET DAR ES SALAAM 4634

SUBJECT: OAU SUMMIT, NIGERIAN WAR

REF: STATE 241962

1. AS EVIDENCED BY SECOND VICE PRESIDENT KAWAWA'S DECISION TO CANCEL HIS VISIT TO MALI (DARI 4628), TANZANIAN LEADERS ARE EXTREMELY TOUCHY ON SUBJECT OF NIGERIAN CRISIS AND TANZANIAN SUPPORT FOR BIAFRA. IN ADDITION, KAWAWA'S POSITION AT ALGIERS THAT MOST OF BLAME FOR NIGERIAN WAR MUST BE LAID TO BRITISH INDICATES THAT HIS REACTION TO ANY APPROACH BY NON-AFRICAN POWER ON THIS SUBJECT WOULD MOST LIKELY BE ADVERSE.

2. HOWEVER, KAWAWA'S ALGIERS SPEECH (TEXT BY AIRGRAM) GIVES

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DAR ES SALAAM 4634  
9/20/68

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Authority VMD 950503  
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 DAR ES 04634 201914Z

CLEAR INDICATION OF TANZANIAN FEELINGS ON HUMANITARIAN RELIEF ASPECT OF NIGERIAN PROBLEM. KAWAWA SAID, "THIS MEANS THAT RELIEF HAS TO BE SENT AT ONCE AND THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES SHOULD SHOW MAGNANIMITY BY ATTACHING NO STRINGS WHATSOEVER TO THE PASSAGE OF HUMANITARIAN AID TO BIAFRA. AN UNCONDITIONAL CEASE FIRE MUST ALSO BE DECLARED FORTHWITH."

3. NYERERE'S POSITION ON RELIEF ISSUE WAS SET FORTH IN DAR 3991 AS WAS FOREIGN OFFICE'S IN DAR 4537.

GP-1

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State

TELEGRAM

*BoL 27 Biafra Nigeria*

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PAGE 01 DAR ES 04632 201315Z

45.  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, EA 10, NIC 01, ACDA 16, AID 28, ID 13, SR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12,

NSA 02, RSR 01, /173 W

R 201130Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4987  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

UNCLAS DAR ES SALAAM *4632*

TANZANIAN PRESIDENT NYERERE SAID SEPT 19 THAT NIGERIAN COL. ADEKUNLE'S ACCUSATIONS THAT TANZANIANS, ZAMBIANS, AND CHINESE WERE FIGHTING ALONGSIDE BIAFRANS WAS "THE BIGGEST LIE OF THE YEAR". TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN ALSO SAID SEPT 19 THAT "WE HAVE NO MERCENARIES IN BIAFRA. NIGERIA SHOULD PRODUCE INDISPUTABLE EVIDENCE TO SUBSTANTIATE THEIR STATEMENT THAT TANZANIANS HAVE BEEN FIGHTING AS MERCENARIES".  
BURNS

*Now so Salama 4632  
9-20-68*

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Authority <i>VND 959503</i>
By <i>MV NARA</i> Date <i>10/5/05</i>

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		6

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

# AIRGRAM

BL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO : IBADAN, KADUNA, PARIS, LONDON

SEP 20 11 28 AM 1968

RS/AN  
ANALYSIS BRANCH

DATE: Sept 19, 1968

FROM : Amembassy LAGOS

SUBJECT : All The News? - Depends On Where You Live

REF :

JOINT EMBASSY/USIS MESSAGE

FBIS N-101520 September 10, carried a text from the Lagos Daily Times (Enclosure 1) which, in the first two paragraphs, reported landing "in full force" of French mercenaries in Biafra. The report was picked up and broadcast on September 11, on radio, by the Northern Nigerian Broadcasting Service (Enclosure 2 for excerpts from FBIS N-120835 on broadcast). The intriguing aspect of the report is that it was not carried in the Lagos and Western State editions of the Lagos Daily Times either on September 10 or subsequently.

The Daily Times is published in three editions each day, one for Lagos, one for Western and Mid-Western states and one for the six northern states. Because of the distances involved, the northern edition is printed first and dispatched early. The USIS Information Officer had his senior assistant go to the offices of the Lagos Daily Times and ask to see copies of all three regional editions, but none of the copies shown him carried this article which was in the edition the Consulate and FBIS in Kaduna received.

COMMENT: Neither the Embassy nor USIS can account for the publication of this article only in the northern edition of the Times. The Information Officer says that he has never known of a change like this between editions on the same day, although later news is sometimes added to the later Lagos and western editions. The reports in the north of French mercenaries elicited a statement on September 12 from the Governor of Benue-Plateau State that these reports were "mere speculation." It appears that someone in the Times or, less likely, in the Ministry of Information had the report pulled out after it had gotten into the northern edition, although it was not the first time Nigerian newspapers have found foreign mercenaries in the woodpile.

Enclosures: *all m. m.*

As stated

MATHEWS *sm*

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Drafted by:

POL:GFCarrjr:mjr 9/17/68

Contents and Classification Approved by:

POL:EERamsaurjr *sm*

Clearances:

USIS:RGMcCloskey (in substance) *sm*

0721

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Authority: VND954503	
By: MVA	Date: 10/5/03



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Page 1 of 1  
Encl. No. 1  
A- 845 from Lagos

Excerpt from FBIS N101520

"French troops have landed in full force in the rebel-held territories as the last land of Ojukwu's puppet army begins to crumble. Unofficial reports reaching Lagos last night said French mercenaries, made up mainly of paratroopers reinforced with ground troops, sneaked into the Central-Eastern State through Gabon on the weekend. They are working on high-powered instructions from France to "lay down your lives for Biafra if necessary," the report said.

"The French Government has been sending troops to aid Ojukwu's secession since France openly declared support for the rebel cause last month. The French Government, in a statement condemned all over the world, declared that the Nigerian war should be settled on the basis of 'the right of the people to self-determination.'"

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By	MMNARA Date 10/5/03

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Page 1 of 1  
Encl. No. 2  
A- 845 from Lagos

Excerpt from FBIS N-120835

"It has been reported, though unofficially, that French troops have at last landed in full force in the shrinking areas still under the secessionists control. The French mercenaries, said to be mainly paratroopers on the payroll of President Charles de Gaulle, the "mourning" General, are believed to have sneaked into rebel-held areas through Gabon, one of the African countries backing Ojukwu's regime.

"Since the French Government announced recently that the Nigerian conflict should be settled on the basis of the right of the people's self-determination, de Gaulle has been sending troops to aid Ojukwu's scattered and tattered army to sustain their rebellion. But, faced with the might of the advancing Federal troops on all fronts and the rebels holding an area less than 5,000 square miles, the French troops have been taking to their heels on seeing the Federal forces. They were in Nigeria before Aba was liberated and though the advance into the towns by 3rd Marine Commandos has resisted, the resistance was not sustained and Aba was virtually abandoned a few days before it was captured. French troops ran away.

"Nigeria is ready. His commandos, whatever their strength and number, will be purged out of this country as they were purged from Algeria and Indochina. The guns of the gallant men of the Nigerian armed forces will look for them, chase them, and pound and hammer them until they are no more and until they flee in shame. They will regret in the end, and this country, our dear Nigeria, will be preserved as one entity for posterity. Charles de Gaulle is bound to fail."

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0723

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By	MVA Date 10/5/03



Department of State

TELEGRAM

31

Pol. 27 Biafra-Nigeria

SECRET 982

PAGE 01 MONROV 07292 191200Z

for Pol 17 US - Biafra

49

ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, HI 02

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, AID 28, SR 01,

ORM 03, SCA 02, SCS 04, SAH 02, RSR 01, /143 W

P. R. 191013Z SEP 68

FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5171

INFO AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY RABAT

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION USUN

SECRET MONROVIA 7292

REF: STATE 239199

SUBJ: OAU SUMMIT, NIGERIAN WAR

1. I HAVE JUST BEEN INFORMED THAT PRESIDENT WILL BE UNABLE SEE ME AT 11:00 A.M. TODAY AS HAD BEEN PLANNED TO DISCUSS MATTERS REFERRED TO REFTEL.

2. TUBMAN HAS BEEN ORDERED BY HIS DOCTOR TO PROCEED TO TOTOTA IMMEDIATELY FOR FOUR DAYS' REST. ACTING SECRETARY EASTMAN SAYS IF MATTER IS EXTREMELY URGENT I MAY SEE PRESIDENT AT TOTOTA FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 20 AT 6:00 P.M.

3. I AM MOST RELUCTANT TO INTERRUPT PRESIDENT'S REST AND THEREFORE WOULD PREFER TO AWAIT HIS RETURN TO MONROVIA EARLY NEXT WEEK. IF DEPARTMENT FEELS I SHOULD SEE HIM FRIDAY PLEASE ADVISE URGENTLY. OTHERWISE I SHALL POSTPONE MY CALL. BROWN.

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
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PAGE 01 KADUNA 01371 191121Z

14.  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10,  
P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, CU 04, SR 01, ORM 03, IO 13, AID 28,  
SCSE 00, SCA 02, RSR 01, /155 W

R 190755Z SEP 68.  
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 892  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMCONSUL IBADAN

UNCLAS KADUNA 1371

SUBJECT: NEW NIGERIAN INTERVIEW WITH QUAI OFFICER

1. SEPTEMBER 18 NEW NIGERIAN'S "CANDIDO" COLUMN OBVIOUSLY WRITTEN BY EDITOR ADAMU CIROMA INCLUDES ARTICLE ON CIROMA'S INTERVIEW WITH G. GUEURY, CHIEF AFRICAN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT, FRENCH FONIMIN, WHICH WAS PRESUMABLY CONDUCTED DURING CIROMA'S PARIS STOPOVER WHILE RETURNING FROM LEADER GRANT TRIP TO U.S. ARTICLE COMMENCES WITH FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS:

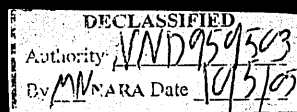
2. Q. WHY DID FRANCE COME OUT SO LATE WITH ITS STATEMENT AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE NIGERIAN CRISIS? A. WE BECAME MORE CONSCIOUS OF THE PROBLEM AFTER THE RECOGNITION BY IVORY COAST AND GABON. IN ANY CASE WE COULD NOT HAVE TAKEN A STAND EARLIER BECAUSE OF OUR DOMESTIC SITUATION.

3. Q. THE RECOGNITION OF THE REBELS BY IVORY COAST AND GABON CAME IN BETWEEN THE LONDON AGREEMENT TO CONVEENE PEACE TALKS IN KAMPALA AND THE BEGINNING OF THE TALKS. THE FRENCH STATEMENT CAME BETWEEN NIAMEY AND ADDIS ABABA. WERE THESE TIMINGS DELIBERATELY INTENDED TO STIFFEN THE REBEL ATTITUDE? A. I ASSURE YOU THAT THE TIMING WAS A COINCIDENCE.

4. Q. WHAT IS THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FRENCH STATEMENT? A. WE ARE SOLEY MOTIVATED BY HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS. SOME PEOPLE THINK THAT WE HAVE ECONOMIC INTERESTS. THIS IS A MARXIST

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 KADUNA 01371 191121Z

INTERPRETATION WHICH DOES NOT APPLY. IN ASSERTING THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF DETERMINATION WE ARE ONLY BEING OURSELVES. WE GAVE INDEPENDENCE TO ALGERIA. WHEN SOME LEADERS OF OUR TWO FEDERATIONS IN AFRICA DID NOT LIKE TO BREAK THEM UP BEFORE INDEPENDENCE (SIC). OUR STATEMENT DID NOT NECESSARILY AMOUNT TO RECOGNITION OF OJUKWU ALTHOUGH IT MAY.

5. Q. IS FRENCH POLICY USUALLY BASED ON SENTIMENTS? A. ALWAYS.

6. Q. IS IT TRUE, AS IS BELIEVED BY SOME OF MY COLLEAGUES IN THE FRENCH PRESS, THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT DECISION WAS TAKEN IN COMPLETE DISREGARD OF YOUR EMBASSY IN LAGOS? A. I AM SURPRISED YOU ASK SUCH A QUESTION. THE EMBASSY IS ONLY STAFFED BY CIVIL SERVANTS. THEIR VIEWS WERE CONSIDERED BUT THEY WERE NOT BINDING. THERE IS NO DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN US AND OUR LAGOS EMBASSY.

7. ARTICLE CONTINUES: "MR. GUEURY WAS VISIBLY EXCITED ABOUT TWO POINTS. ON COMMENTING ON THEM HIS URBANITY AND HIS DIPLOMATIC BLANDNESS MOMENTARILY DESERTED HIM. HE TOOK PAINS TO EMPHATICALLY DENY THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WAS GIVING MATERIAL MILITARY SUPPORT TO THE REBELS. THEY WERE ONLY SENDING MEDICAL MATERIALS AND PERSONNEL (SIC) HE SAID. HE BITTERLY CRITICIZED THE NIGERIAN POPULAR REACTION, DEMONSTRATIONS AND PRESS COMMENTS ALL OF WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS EMOTIONAL AND UNREASONABLE. HE HAD HEAPS OF NIGERIAN PRESS CLIPPINGS IN FRONT OF HIM. I CAME AWAY WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THE FRENCH FOREIGN OFFICE WAS SURPRISED BY THE NIGERIAN REACTION. HOW NAIVE CAN ONE BE?"

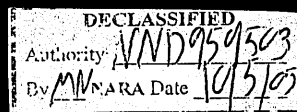
8. COMMENT: CIROMA DID NOT TAKE CREDIT FOR THE INTERVIEW HIMSELF, ATTRIBUTING IT INSTEAD TO NEW NIGERIAN IMAGINARY COLUMNIST CANDIDO.

STOKES.  
ET

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SYSTEMATIC REVIEW WITHDRAWAL CARD NO. POLSD-22

DATE: 9/19/68 MSG NO.: 12805 TYPE: TE  
FROM: Lagos TO: State  
SUBJECT: Canadian Statement on Nigeria at U.N.  
DOCUMENT ORIGINATOR: DEPT. OF STATE: ☒ OTHER: ☐

BASIS FOR WITHDRAWAL:

☒ CONTAINS NATIONAL SECURITY INFORMATION  
☐ OTHER LAW OR REGULATION

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By	MNARA
Date	10/5/95

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
XR POL 3 OAU  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
XR POL 16 BIAFRA (14)

CONFIDENTIAL 667

PAGE 01 TUNIS 06687 200936Z

22  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,  
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, AID 28, SAH 02, RSR 01,  
/147 W

R 191633Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY TUNIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6767  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY RABAT  
USCINCEUR  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI  
COMSIXTHFLT

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CONFIDENTIAL TUNIS 6687

SUBJ: PRESIDENT BOURGUIBA ON BIAFRA

REF: TUNIS 5359 (NOTAL) POL 16 BIAFRA

1. DURING LUNCHEON AT LE KEF IN HONOR COMMANDER SIXTH FLEET  
BOURGUIBA RESPONDED TO MY REQUEST FOR HIS COMMENTS RE BIAFRA  
AND THE NIGERIAN RESOLUTION AT THE ALGIERS OAU  
SUMMIT.

2. PRESIDENT SAID TUNISIA WENT TO ALGIERS MOTIVATED BY DEEP  
CONCERN FOR HUMAN TRAGEDY IN BIAFRA AND BY HOPE THAT IT  
COULD MAKE REASON PREVAIL IN OAU. BOURGUIBA SAID HE  
BELIEVES NIGERIAN-BIAFRAN FIGHTING AND CONSEQUENT INHUMANITIES  
WILL LEAVE LEGACY OF HATRED WHICH WILL TAKE LONG TIME TO  
OVERCOME. COURAGE AND DETERMINATION OF A PEOPLE WHO CHOOSE  
DEATH OVER SURRENDER MAKE CASE OF IBOS MORE VALID THAN ONE  
OF MERE TRIBAL FACTIONALISM. TUNISI URGED HEARING OF

(3)

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June 6687  
9-19-68

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05



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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 TUNIS 06687 200936Z

BOTH PARTIES BY OAU SUMMIT. IT COULD DO NO LESS BUT IT COULD DO NO MORE. PRESIDENT ADDED HE DID NOT WISH TO BECOME ANY MORE INVOLVED IN THIS PARTICULAR PROBLEM OF BLACK AFRICA. THERE ARE MORE THAN ENOUGH PROBLEMS IN WHITE AFRICA.

3. TUNISIA WAS AMONG MAJORITY VOTING FOR OAU RESOLUTION ON NIGERIA, AFTER HAVING UNSUCCESSFULLY SUPPORTED PRO-BIAFRAN AMENDMENT PROPOSED BY FOUR RECOGNIZING COUNTRIES.

4. COMMENTING ON PRESS REPORTS THAT A BIAFRAN DEL WAS STANDING BY IN TUNIS DURING OAU MEETING FONOFF MEMBER OF GOT DEL SAYS RUMOR WAS FLOATED BY ALGERIANS AND WAS COMPLETELY UNTRUE.

5. COMMENT: PRESIDENT BOURGUIBA WAS OBVIOUSLY IN EXCELLENT HEALTH. HE EXPRESSED HIS VIEWS VIGOROUSLY ON CZECHOSLOVAK DEVELOPMENTS AND SOVIET BUILD-UP IN MEDITERRANEAN BEING REPORTED BY POUCH. DURING MORNING HE HAD MADE ONE HUNDRED KILOMETER TRIP BY HELICOPTER TO INAUGURATE OUED LAKHMESS IRRIGATION DAM NEAR SILIANA. GP-3 RUSSELL

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Authority	VND 9503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

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*Intelligence  
Note* - 741

September 19, 1966

63  
To : The Secretary  
Through: S/S  
From : IIR - Thomas L. Hughes *tlh*  
Subject: The OAU Summit: Status Quo Maintained

The fifth summit conference of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in Algiers from September 13 to 16, turned out to be another demonstration of the African will to maintain unity, even at the price of foregoing concrete accomplishment. The resolutions generally reaffirmed traditional positions on major issues and in effect rejected proposed changes in the OAU organization. A final appraisal of the summit, all of whose working sessions were closed, must await more definite information on what went on behind the scenes.

Territorial Integrity--an Inviolable Principle. As was expected, Nigeria was the dominant issue. Speaking at the closing ceremony, Nigeria's head of delegation, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, declared that every OAU member state must be regarded as indivisible. "Any departure," he said, "from the principle of territory integrity would lead to the total ineffectiveness of the organization and possibly to the death of the OAU itself." The resolution that emerged asked, inter alia, that: (1) the Biafrans cooperate with the Federal Government "to restore peace and unity"; (2) both sides cease hostilities; (3) if these conditions are fulfilled, the Federal Government grant a general amnesty and the OAU, in effect, guarantee (4) all parties cooperate to ensure a rapid flow of humanitarian aid to the needy; (5) all member states of the UN and OAU refrain from

3  
This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, it has not been coordinated elsewhere.

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declassification

*Pol 3 6 PM  
Pol 27  
Biafra - Nigeria*

0730

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Authority: VNP 959503  
By: MVA NARA Date: 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12792 191615Z

53:  
ACTION: AF 16

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SA 01, SAL 01, SAH 02,

AID 28, PC 04, ACDA 16, SCSE 00, SCA 02, SR 01, ORM 02, RSR 01, 175 W

R 191215Z SEP 68:  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS:  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2624  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA

UNCLAS LAGOS 12792

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUND-UP! SEPTEMBER 19

1. OUUKWU OPPOSITION? POST, TIMES AND SKETCH CARRY ALMOST IDENTICAL STORY THAT QTE RELIABLE REPORTS REACHING LAGOS AND CONFIRMED BY CAPTURED REBEL SOLDIERS UNQTE INDICATE THAT QTE LARGE NUMBER OF FORMER MINISTERS AND MEMBERS OF BOTH REGIONAL AND FEDERAL PARLIAMENTS, MAINLY IBOS UNQTE HAVE BEEN IN JAIL FOR SOME TIME IN UMUAHIA BECAUSE THEY OPPOSED OUUKWU AND SECESSION. ARTICLES STATE THAT FMG IS REQUESTING ICRC TO INTERVENE TO INSURE PHYSICAL SAFETY SO THAT OUUKWU WILL NOT HARM THEM QTE BEFORE ABANDONING UMUAHIA. UNQTE

2. ALGIERS CONFERENCE: POST FEATURES WRAP-UP ARTICLE ON ALGIERS AND NIGERIAN RESOLUTION UNDER HEADLINE QTE FED GOVT SCORES MAJOR DIPLOMATIC VICTORY SIGNAL TO EMEKA TO PACK. UNQTE SKETCH ALSO HAS

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 12792 191615Z

ROUND-UP OF ALGIERS REPORT ON AWOLowo STATEMENTS PLUS EDITORIAL QTE VICTORY FOR PRINCIPLE UNQTE HAILING CONFERENCE AND RESOLUTION ON NIGERIA AS PROOF OF AWARENESS OF FALSITY OF GENOCIDE CHARGE AND WARNING FOREIGN INTERLOPERS QTE POKING NOSE INTO NIGERIA. UNQTE ENDS WITH PRAISE FOR FMG OFFER OF AMNESTY AS QTE MAGNANIMOUS GESTURE. UNQTE BENIN OBSERVER REPORTS TANZANIAN SECOND VP KAWAWAS STATEMENTS ATTACKING OAU RESOLUTION.

3. WAR PILOT FEATURES REPORTS THAT REBEL TROOPS ARE DESERTING FROM BIAFRAN ARMY AND THAT MANY CIVILIANS RETURNING TO FMG-HELD PARTS OF EAST CENTRAL STATE WHERE THEY ARE BEING PROVIDED WITH FOOD AND MEDICINES BY FMG. OBSERVER ALSO FEATURES STORY OF PUSH TOWARD UMUAHIA BMSED ON REUTERS REPORTS INCLUDING ROLE OF FMG SOLDIERS AS QTE RELIEF WORKERS UNQTE PROVIDING SUPPLIES TO REFUGEES AND CIVILIANS IN LIBERATED AREAS. OBSERVER ALSO HAS PAGE OF PICTURES AND STORY OF FMG SOLDIERS PROVIDING HELP TO QTE IBO REFUGEES. UNQTE

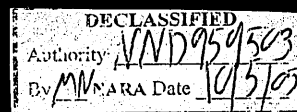
4. OBSERVERS TIMES, POST AND SKETCH REPORT ARRIVAL SEPTEMBER 18 OF NILS-GORAN GUSSING WHO WILL ACT AS UN OBSERVER.

5. HERE WE GO AGAIN! TRIBUNE HAS FRONT-PAGE EDITORIAL ATTACKING STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO ICRC IN GENEVA AND PUBLISHED IN SEPT 15 LONDON SUNDAY TIMES. STATEMENTS SAID THERE MUST BE QTE ONE WHITEMAN ON EVERY (RELIEF) TRUCK TO PREVENT DAMAGE, THIEVING AND BLACK MARKETTING. NIGERIANS HAVE NO BASIC BELIEF IN FEEDING STARVING BECAUSE THERE IS ALWAYS SOMEBODY STARVING HERE, SO YOU CANT EXPECT THEM TO SAFEGUARD RED CROSS SUPPLY IN THE WAY WE DO. UNQTE SAYS STATEMENTS WERE MADE BY QTE ARROGANT NEGROPHOBISTS UNQTE WHO SHOULD BE DEPORTED AND IF WHAT HE SAID IS ICRC POLICY IT MUST BE CHANGED AT ONCE OR QTE ICRC SHOULD BE INVITED TO DEPART. UNQTE

6. IBOS AND BIAFRA: POST HAS FULL PAGE QTE CULLED FROM TIMES OF LONDON UNQTE WRITTEN BY DAME MARGERY PERHAM ON HER FINDINGS IN NIGERIA AND ADVICE TO OUUKWU TO SURRENDER SKETCH REPORTS THAT MORE THAN 300 DISPLACED IBOS FROM MID-WEST AND EAST CENTRAL STATE NOW LIVING AND CARRYING ON BUSINESS IN PORT HARCOURT, HAVE APPEALED TO IBOS IN AREAS STILL UNDER REBELS TO BRING PRESSURE ON OUUKWU TO RENOUNCE SECESSION. APPEAL ISSUED IN STATEMENT SIGNED BY TWO QTE LEADERS UNQTE OF THE GROUP. MATHEWS

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*Pal 27 Biafra-Nigeria*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

43

47

CONFIDENTIAL 415

PAGE 01 USUN N 06564 190208Z

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ACTION IO 15

INFO AF 10, EUR 15, ARA 08, EA 10, NEA 13, RSC 01, SA 01, SAH 02, SAL 01,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, SP 02, SS 25

USIA 12, NSA 02, AID 28, PC 04, RSR 01, /180 W

R 190124Z SEP 68  
FM USMISSION USUN NY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3226  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
US MISSION GENEVA 2689  
US MISSION NATO 1074

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 6564

FOR BALL AND SISCO

SUBJECT: NIGERIA

1. IN CONVERSATION WITH MISOFF ALO (NIGERIA) SAID FMG WELCOME OAU RES ON NIGERIA. HE STATED REPS OF AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO KEEP BIAFRA ALIVE HAD VISITED NIGERIAN PERM REP OGBU THIS WEEK AND THAT LATTER WAS IMPRESSED WITH ARGUMENTS MADE.

2. GROUP HAS SEEN VARIOUS MISSIONS INCLUDING UK, CANADA, NETHERLANDS, TANZANIA, ETC. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH MISOFF GROUP GAVE IMPRESSION THAT THEY ARE DISCOURAGED RE ATTITUDE OF VARIOUS MISSIONS CONTACTED. THEY INTEND, HOWEVER, TO PERSEVERE IN ATTEMPT TO GET UN INVOLVEMENT IN NIGERIA.

3. AMERICAN COMITE TO KEEP BIAFRA ALIVE GROUP HAS BEEN SITTING IN USUN RECEPTION AREA DURING DAY SINCE MON AND HAS ALSO BEEN PICKETING BLDG. EXPECT THIS TO CONTINUE UNTIL GROUP FEELS IT HAS GOTTEN AN ANSWER TO ITS DEMAND THAT UN CONSIDER NIGERIA AT GA.

GP-4. BUFFUM

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By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

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(POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA)

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE

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18 SEP 68 20 17Z

Origin: ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS  
Info: INFO: Amembassy LONDON  
PARIS  
US MISSION GENEVA  
USUN  
CINCSTRIKE  
Amconsul IBADAN  
KADUNA

SUBJECT: Nigeria Press Summary - September 18

1. Balt Sun and Wash Post feature AP Lagos story on Biafran radio affirming will to survive. Radio quoted saying no force on earth can conquer Biafra's will to survive. Only Umuahia left and this where Biafrans probably will make last stand. In answer to OAU plea rebels surrender, broadcast said QTE we want the OAU know no force can stifle Biafra's aspiration to be sovereign and free UNQTE. About six million Biafrans being squeezed in ever-decreasing area. 29,000 square miles at time of secession down to 3,000. Two federal divisions reported moving on Umuahia from points 30 miles south and 30 miles north of town. Nils-Goran Gussing met with U Thant in New York to discuss his work helping get food to civilian victims both sides. In Ottawa Mitchell W. Sharp, Foreign Secretary, said Canada will raise Biafra-Nigeria question in UN if OAU does not.

2. In Post John de St. Jorre of London Observer cabled from Port Harcourt this former boom town captured by feds four months ago is today somber,

Drafted by: *RJP*  
AF/P:RLPerkins:mb 9/18/68

Tel. Ext.  
2105

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by: *RWM/RJP*  
Nigerian Task Force:RWMelbourne

Clearances:

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Classification

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Authority: VND954503  
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/03

Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

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empty place, gently decaying in interminable rain. Several thousand people in and around city that used to accommodate quarter of million, 70 per cent of them Ibos. Harcourt has no running water or electricity, shops and offices closed, elephant grass pushing up through shattered streets. Town has skeleton civil administration and newly appointed military governor. QTE There are two main problems - security and a market UNQTE said British businessman as we ate beans out of tin in humid gloom of Cedar Palace Hotel. PH and surrounding zone have not been subjected guerrilla attacks like many fed-occupied zones. But neither local nor foreign civilians feel overjoyed at continued presence fed troops. Oil experts have begun assess damage in zone's extensive fields. Believed \$5 million damage done. Most French, Italian, American and British wells now in fed hands. Refinery near here only slightly damaged, and shipping point at Bonny expected be repaired in two months. Only 170 Nigerians of former 2,000 Shell oil workers turned up. Twenty expatriates of original ~~3000~~ 300 preparing go back soon. Roughly 65 per cent Shell's staff was Ibo. Unlikely any of these will return until war over and even then many will be reluctant. Feeling among people here against Ibos, their former masters, undoubtedly high. There no possibility them ever playing significant part in local politics or administration again.

3. NYTimes reports Geneva ICRC announcement resumption mercy flights into Biafra last night (16th), carrying 65 tons after two-day halt due QTE general situation UNQTE. Swiss, Dutch, Swedish, Finnish and Norwegians planes made one flight each and Danish RC plane made two, committee said.

END

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
 Department of State  
 XR TELEGRAM  
 SOC 3 RED CROSS<sup>23</sup>

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12772 181718Z

51  
ACTION AF 16

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, INR 07, P 04, RSC 01, USIA 12,

SCS 04, SCA 02, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, GPM 04, NSC 10, SP 02, SS 25,

ACDA 16, L 03, RSR 01, 169 W

R 181637Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2615  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION GENEVA

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SUBJ: NIGHT REQUISITIONING ICRC AIRCRAFT

REF: STATE 239100 *POL 27 Biafra Nigeria*

1. REFTEL PARA 6 SUMMARIZES PRESS REPORT THAT FMG REQUISITIONED TWO ICRC AIRCRAFT TO FLY ARMS AND REINFORCEMENTS TO BATTLE FRONTS. ICRC LAGOS OFFICIAL CONFIRMS NIGERIAN AIR FORCE DID RUB OUT RED CROSS MARKINGS TWO DC-4S CHARTERED FROM PAN AFRICAN AND UTILIZED PLANES DURING NIGHTS OF SEPTEMBER 11 AND 12. REGULAR ICRC DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS TO ENUGU AND CALABAR CONTINUED THROUGHOUT PERIOD.

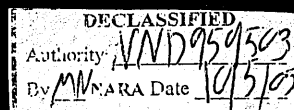
2. SIR ADEMOLA, PRESIDENT NIGERIAN RED CROSS, DISCUSSED MATTER WITH IKEJA AIRPORT SECURITY OFFICER, BUT ICRC LAGOS HAS NOT RPT NOT PROTESTED INCIDENT. ICRC DOES NOT WISH MAKE ISSUE OF INCIDENT UNLESS IT BECOMES A SERIOUS PROBLEM. IN MEANTIME, THEY STUDYING PAN AFRICAN CONTRACT PROVISIONS TO DETERMINE IF THEY LEGALLY ENTITLED TO EXCLUSIVE USE.

3. COMMENT: WE NOTE THAT ICRC CHARTERED AIRCRAFT USUALLY BRING BACK FMG WOUNDED FROM ENUGU AND PORT HARCOURT ON RETURN FLIGHTS. THIS DONE WITH ICRC CONCURRENCE. WE HAVE SUGGESTED SOME WEEKS AGO TO ICRC THAT TO AVOID PROBLEMS OF THIS NATURE THEY FORMALIZE AGREEMENT WITH FMG ON DC-4 AIRLIFT TO ENUGU

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AND CALABAR.

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MATHEWS

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05





POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 233

PAGE 01 LAGOS 12751 181313Z

44  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,  
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, AID 28, RSR 01, /143 W

P R 181203Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2604  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 12751

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN REACTION TO CANADIAN STATEMENT ON UN

1. CANADIAN HICOM (PROTECT) HERE WAS CAUGHT OFF BASE BY SHARP STATEMENT IN OTTAWA YESTERDAY AND HAS ALREADY EXPRESSED HIS MISGIVINGS TO OTTAWA.

2. CANADIAN HICOM WAS SUMMONED TO MINEXTAFF THIS MORNING FOR WHAT WE EXPECT WILL BE UNCOMFORTABLE SESSION. NIGERIANS PRESUMABLY FIRST HEARD OF STATEMENT THROUGH VOA BROADCAST EARLY TODAY.

GP-3. MATHEWS

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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Pol 27 DIA FRA-Nigeria

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 559

PAGE 01 IBADAN 00 24 191841Z

44

ACTION: AFI 16

INFO GPM 04, L 03, H 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, INR 07, P 04, RSC 01, USIA 12,

NSA 02, RSRI 01, AID 28, 080 W

RI 181415Z SEP 68  
FM AMCONSUL IBADAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 644  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
CINCSRIKE/CINCEAFSA

CONFIDENTIAL IBADAN 624

CORRECTED COPY

SUBJECT: ARMY CONDUCTS CHECK IN IBADAN

1. AT VARIOUS POINTS IN AND ON OUTSKIRTS OF IBADAN UNITS OF ARMED SOLDIERS ESTABLISHED SPECIAL CHECK POINTS THIS MORNING (SEPT 18), STOPPING AND SEARCHING VEHICLES AND CHECKING INDIVIDUALS' IDENTITY DOCUMENTS. PEOPLE WERE ASKED WHERE THEY WORKED AND IN SOME CASES ASKED TO SHOW EVIDENCE. SOME EXPATS WERE STOPPED, SOME WERE WAVED ON WITHOUT CHECK.
2. ADJUTANT AT 2ND DIV GARRISON HQ SAID OPERATION WAS TO PICK UP SOLDIERS "NOT WANTED IN THE TOWN." SOMEWHAT VAGUE WHEN ASKED IF THIS MEANT DESERTERS.
3. SEVERAL THEORIES CURRENT AMONG NIGERIANS WE HAVE SPOKEN TO INCLUDING LOCAL EMPLOYEES. THESE INCLUDE THAT SWEEP WAS TO PICK UP NUMBER OF SOLDIERS WHO HAD DESERTED ON WAY TO FRONT, TO PICK UP WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION "THAT HAD GOTTEN INTO WRONG HANDS" AND TO PICK UP UNEMPLOYED MEN FOR RECRUITMENT INTO ARMY.
4. REASON MAY BE COMBINATION OF ABOVE. PERHAPS ALSO ADEBAY WANTED SHOW OF STRENGTH AS WARNING TO POSSIBLE NNDP "PLOTTERS" HE MEANS BUSINESS AND TO PICK UP ANY ARMS THAT COULD FALL INTO THEIR HANDS. HE POSTPONED TOUR OSHUN DIVISION SCHEDULED TO START TODAY. WHILE HE TOLD BDHC SMALLWOOD YESTERDAY THIS WAS

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9/18/68

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By MVA Date 10/5/03



*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 IBADAN 00624 191841Z

BECAUSE HE HAD TO ATTEND MEETING OF SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL  
IN LAGOS SEPT 20, EXPLANATION SEEMS THIN. SMALLWOOD THOUGHT AT  
TIME HE SEEMED PREOCCUPIED.

5. COMMENT: PRESUME CHECK IS MAINLY FOR DESERTERS AND ARMS  
LIKE SIMILAR SWEEPS IN LAGOS BUT THERE MAY BE POLITICAL  
OVERTONES.

GP: 4. STRONG:

CONFIDENTIAL

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/03



POL 27 Biafra-Nigeria  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
23

CONFIDENTIAL: 534

PAGE 01 LISBON 01971 181624Z

49  
ACTION EUR 20

INFO AF 10, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 02, SCS 04, SAH 02, NSA 02,  
CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,  
SS 25, USIA 12, PPT 02, RSR 01, /158 W  
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R 181600Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LISBON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2499  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 1971

SUBJ: BIAFRAN AIRLIFT

1. RUMORS CURRENT IN LISBON PRESS CIRCLES THAT PLASTIC EXPLOSIVES FOUND NEAR AIRPLANES CONTROLLED BY HENRY WARTON. SABOTAGE ATTEMPT REPORTEDLY HAS EFFECTIVELY GROUNDED BIAFRAN AIRLIFT AND CAUSED INTENSIFICATION OF SECURITY PRECAUTIONS AT PORTELA AIRPORT LISBON.

2. AMERICAN JOURNALIST WHO RECENTLY VISITED SAO TOME STATES THAT WARTON IN DIFFICULTIES WITH BIAFRAN AUTHORITIES AND MAY BE ARRESTED IF HE RETURNS TO BIAFRA. EARLIER IN WEEK WARTON WAS PICKED UP FOR QUESTIONING BY PORTUGUESE POLICE ON HIS RETURN TO LISBON, BUT WAS RELEASED SAME DAY, REPORTEDLY QUESTIONS BY POLICE CONCERNED SOME OF HIS ASSOCIATES.

BENNETT

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CONFIDENTIAL:

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Authority VND 959503  
By MN/ARA Date 10/5/05

ORIGIN/ACTION

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POL 27 BIAFFRA-NIGERIA

POL 27-1 COMBLO-CZECH

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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO : COPENHAGEN, HELSINKI, REYKJAVIK, STOCKHOLM, LAGOS, BONN

FROM : Amembassy OSLO

SUBJECT: Prime Minister's Press Conference: Nigeria and Czechoslovakia  
Main Topics

REF : Oslo 6341

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SEP 18 8 33 AM 1968

ANALYSIS BRANCH

DATE: September 17, 1968

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Prime Minister Per BORTEN held one of his periodic press conferences on September 12, and in this case his first since the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia. Opening the press conference with reference to the situation in Nigeria, he said: "The Government feels it would be unwise to recognize Biafra as an independent state at this time. If recognition were to have had any effect it should have taken place earlier." The Prime Minister said further that he could not condone the methods by which the Federal Military Government<sup>has</sup> conducted the war and that Norway would continue to give priority to humanitarian aid to the starving civilian population in the war zones. He added that the Norwegian Government had not discussed a citizen's petition (See ref tel) requesting that an official Norwegian delegation be sent to Nigeria to persuade the Nigerian Government to permit more relief aid to Biafra, and explained that there is no precedent for such a delegation. There was nothing to prevent persons from visiting Nigeria in a private capacity, he said, as was the case with several members of Parliament who travelled to Greece after the junta was formed.

Turning to the Czech situation Borten characterized the invasion as "a defeat for international justice and a tribute to the use of brute force... What makes it especially distasteful is that it took place disguised as assistance to a small nation." He added that "we stand without any possibilities directly to influence the situation and our debate therefore should be concerned with how best we can build up an opinion that will force even a super-power to be more humane." The Prime Minister declined to comment whether he thought there had been a

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POL:TS:11:n:mkw

9/16/68

Contents and Classification Approved by:

POL:RTH:11:n:mkw

Clearances:

0742

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05

OSLO A -784

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change in the balance of power in Europe or what effects such a change might have with respect to the defense of Northern Norway, which borders on the Soviet Union. He went on to say, however, that the Norwegian people should "strengthen their mental preparedness and keep alive the will to defend themselves."

In response to a question about possible recognition of East Germany, Borten said that the matter has not been discussed by the Government.

Commenting on the Nordic Council's study of steps toward closer economic cooperation between the Scandinavian countries, the Prime Minister said the special committee established to conduct the study would have its report ready by the end of the year. END UNCLASSIFIED

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COMMENT: Despite public opinion in Norway that is solidly in favor of Biafra in the current civil war in Nigeria, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister have steadfastly refused to consider severing ties with Nigeria or recognizing Biafra. They have instead tried, with considerable success, to focus the public's attention on the plight of the civilian population in the benighted areas. Not all of the Government shares this view. The two Christian People's Party representatives in the Coalition, for example, argue in Government councils for their party's position that Biafra should be recognized. Because feelings run deep both in the Cabinet and in Norway on this subject, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister, as spokesmen for the two major parties in the Coalition, have always taken pains in public to qualify their denial of recognition. Earlier they have indicated that Biafra should have some form of self-determination within the Federal system. Now, as noted above, the excuse is that the clock has run out for Biafra.

TIBBETTS 1077

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MMARA
Date	10/3/05

ORIGIN/ACTION			DEPARTMENT OF STATE			POL 27 BIAFRA - Nigeria		
AF-5			<b>AIRGRAM</b>			FOR RM USE ONLY		
1	REP	AF	A-261			Emil. Reproduced. UNCLASSIFIED		
1	ARA	EUR	NO.			HANDLING INDICATOR		
5	NEA	CU	TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE RECEIVED			DOUALA, LAGOS, LIBREVILLE,		
5	E	P	DEPT PASS (W/COPIES OF ENCLOSURES):			SEP 24 8 37 AM 1968		
5	L	FBO	FROM : AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE			DATE: SEPTEMBER 17, 1968		
5	SCS	SCA	SUBJECT: ARTICLES IN CAMEROONIAN PRESS ON NIGERIAN CONFLICT			RS/AN		
1	AGR	COM	REF :			ANALYSIS BRANCH		
2	INT	LAB	ENCLOSED ARE TWO RECENT ARTICLES FROM THE CAMEROONIAN PRESS			RELATING TO THE NIGERIAN CONFLICT. THEY SHOW THE USUAL BIAS		
2	TR	XMB	IN FAVOR OF "BIAFRA."			THE ORIGIN OF THE FIRST ARTICLE, HEADLINED "RED CROSS TO		
2	ARMY	CIA	LA SEMAINE CAMEROUNAISE IS THE PROTESTANT NEWSPAPER AND APPEARS			(DESPITE THE NAME) EVERY TWO WEEKS. THE ARTICLE IN QUESTION		
20	OSD	USIA	BEGINS ON PAGE ONE IN THE POSITION OF THE LEAD EDITORIAL AND			BEGINS WITH THE WORDS "I WANT MOSCOW! I WILL HAVE MOSCOW!"		
3	NSA		(HITLER IN 1941), THEN PROCEEDS TO DRAW A PARALLEL WITH THE			NIGERIAN SITUATION, EXCEPT THAT THERE IS NO WINTER TO PROTECT		
Pass-6			THE "BIAFRANS." THE AUTHOR REFERS TO THE "FICTIONAL UNITY" OF			A NIGERIA TRYING TO BREAK THE "MARTYRED" IBOS' WILL WITH		
See above			RUSSIAN AND BRITISH MIGS AND BAYONETS. "THE MASSACRES OF THE			CIVILIAN POPULATIONS OF BIAFRA MAKE US THINK OF THE FRIGHTFUL		
fruto			CRIME OF KATYN, WHERE SEVERAL THOUSAND POLISH PRISONERS OF WAR			WERE SAVAGELY EXTERMINATED BY THE SOVIETS. ACCUSATIONS ARE		
			MADE TO THE EFFECT THAT THE LAGOS GOVERNMENT HAS REQUISITIONED			RED CROSS VEHICLES TO TRANSPORT WAR MATERIEL AND ON SEPTEMBER 7		
			SHOT DOWN A RED CROSS AIRCRAFT. THE ARTICLE CLOSES BY STATING			THAT, AS SHOWN BY THE ITALIAN OCCUPATION OF ETHIOPIA, AN		
			OCCUPATION OF "BIAFRA" WILL NOT RESOLVE THE CONFLICT.			PAYTON		
			ENCLOSURES: 2			PAGE 8, CAMEROON EXPRESS, SEPTEMBER 12, 1968		
			ARTICLE FROM LA SEMAINE CAMEROUNAISE, SEPT. 15, 1968			UNCLASSIFIED		
			DS-323			FOR DEPT. USE ONLY		
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0744

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Authority: VND 954503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/03

Thursday, September 12, 1968

"CAMEROON EXPRESS"

# Red Cross to airlift Biafran starving kids to Gabon

One thousand Biafran refugee children, including the sick and orphans, will

immediately be flown to the Republic of Gabon. This was announced last

Monday by the French National Red Cross in Paris. The undertaking will be jointly sponsored by the French National Red Cross and another humanitarian organisation.

Meanwhile, the Gabonese Government has allocated some public buildings for the accommodation of the refugee children pending the period when refugee camps will be constructed.

Madam Josephine Bongo, wife of President Albert Bernard Bongo has appealed for the adoption of the refugee children by the Gabonese people.

The Republic of Gabon is one of the African countries which has recognised Biafra. Others are Tanzania, the first; Ivory Coast and Zambia.

## SHOOTING

Forty-seven prominent people were reported lined up and shot last Monday in Afomanya, Udi Division, Biafra, by a Nigerian firing squad. This was reported by Radio Biafra.

## GIANT SLOGAN

The men, according to the

reports refused to participate and also to chant the slogan: "ONE NIGERIA" in a solidarity rally organised by the Nigerian troops in the area.

Nigerian troops in the area, describing the first shooting as mild, warned that anyone failing to take part in any future Nigerian-organised solidarity rally would be liable to similar shooting. Another "ONE NIGERIA" solidarity rally organised by the troops is expected today.

## BOMBING

The Biafran National Red Cross has called on the International Red Cross to bring Nigeria to book for her indiscriminate bombing of Red Cross centres and workers. In a statement last Monday, the Biafran Red Cross recalled Nigeria's resumed bombing of markets, hospitals and churches adding, unless the Nigerians are told of their acts, they will continue to bomb Red Cross workers on humanitarian services.

It finally called on the International Red Cross to make Nigeria conform to the international principles of modern warfare.

## Engo named to new U. N. post

Mr. Paul Bamefia Engo, until last week Minister-Councillor at the Cameroon Embassy in Washington U.S.A. has been appointed to the newly created post of Permanent Representative for Cameroon at the United Nations in New York.

The appointment was announced last week by Radio Cameroon among several other diplomatic appointments. Other appointments are: Mr. Salomon Bakoto, appointed second Councillor at the Permanent Representation of the Federal Republic of Cameroon at the United Nations in New York.

Mr. Michel Epangue Koss, is appointed second Councillor at the Cameroon Embassy in Washington.

Mr. Eric Dokoko Quan is appointed Economic and Commercial Councillor at the Cameroon Embassy in Bonn, a newly created post.

Mr. Etian Eliehe Elle, is appointed second Councillor at the Cameroon Embassy in Lagos.

Mr. Guy-Lucien Soa is appointed to the Permanent Representation of the Federal Republic of Cameroon at the United Nations.

Mr. Emile Magloire Ngulam, is appointed First Secretary at the Cameroon Embassy in Ottawa.

Mr. Thaddée Nkou, is appointed First Secretary at the Cameroon Embassy in Washington.

Mr. Vincent Owana is appointed First Secretary at the Cameroon Embassy in Madrid, newly created post.

Mr. Jean-Jacques Efangon has been appointed to the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Cameroon in Paris, and charged more specially with press and information.

Jules Meva'a is appointed First Secretary at the Cameroon Embassy in Addis Ababa.

Mr. Benoit Okah, is appointed Deputy Director of Ameri-

can and European Affairs in the Foreign Affairs Ministry in Yaounde.

Mr. Felix Essama Ayi is appointed head of the Department of Asian Affairs in the Foreign Ministry, Yaounde.

Miss Simone Marie, is appointed Head of U.N.O. Affairs and dependent organisms in the Foreign Ministry.

Mr. Hayatou Souaibou is appointed head of Administrative Affairs in the Protocol Head Office.

Jean-Marie Happy Tchankou is appointed head of the Department of European Affairs.

Mr. Joseph Oyie Tsogo is appointed head of Personnel and Accounts.

Mr. John Ndimbie is appointed head of the Department of International Conferences, newly created post vacant.

Mr. Jean Melaga is appointed head of the Department of Bilateral Economic Relations.

Mr. Jean-Jacques Towa is appointed Commercial Attaché at the Cameroon Embassy in Paris.

Mr. Black Ngoundo is appointed Commercial Attaché at the Cameroon Embassy in Ottawa.

Mr. Yaya Garba Balla is appointed Chancery-Attaché at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Cameroon in London.

Mr. Jules Alain Mfoula is appointed Chancery-Attaché at the General Consulate of Cameroon in Santa Isabel.

Mr. Sandy Atangana is appointed Cultural and Press Attaché at the Cameroon Embassy in Washington.

Mr. Jean Nzoyem is appointed Chancery-Attaché at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Cameroon in Liberia.

Mr. Michael Leray Mvom is appointed Deputy Head of the Department of Personnel and Accounts, a newly created post.

## Missing Passport bars departure of peace team

The passport of Professor Eni Njoku, Biafra's Chief Negotiator at the abortive Addis Ababa peace talks was last Tuesday reported missing from a local Police station in Addis Ababa.

The mystery of the missing passport which came immediately before ten members of the Biafran delegation were about to board an aircraft for home, disrupted their journey home. They are still in Addis Ababa.

Meanwhile, the Ethiopian authorities are bearing the responsibility for the missing passport. Their police are said to have kept the visitors' travel papers.

Earlier, Professor Njoku had returned to the airport to seek his passport when the doors of the plane were shut.

It was impossible to search the warded passengers and the plane left immediately.

Observers believe Professor Njoku's passport might have been mishandled to a member of the Nigerian delegation who had earlier left for home.

The Ethiopian authorities have meanwhile called for co-operation to try and recover the missing passport. The Ethiopian authorities, however, are bound to issue another passport to Professor Njoku, if the missing one cannot be found.

The Biafran delegation will, however, not leave Addis Ababa until the passport is recovered or a new one is issued to Professor Njoku as he plans to tour Europe before he returns to Biafra. This, observers see, has delayed their travel as they would have since started their journey home.

Reports say both the Nigerians and the Biafrans had identical passports.

0745

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By: MVA Date: 10/5/05



## "Operation Mexico 68"

# African athletes to leave soon for Mexico

The African team for the 1968 Olympic Games alias "Operation Mexico 68" will be leaving for Mexico September 28.

This was released by the Secretary-General of the Superior Sports Council of Africa in Yaounde and contained in "La Presse du Cameroun" of August 30.

The African athletes shall be conveyed by two planes. The first plane, a DC8, will fly the route Douala-Lagos-Conakry

—Mexico and will carry athletes from twelve states — Cameroon, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Kinshasa), Dahomey, Gabon, Guinea, Mali, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tchad and Togo.

The second plane, a Boeing 707, will fly through North Africa carrying athletes from Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia.

The African team is scheduled to return by October 29, this year.

Already fifty-two countries have registered for the "Operation Mexico 68" with the United States team being so far the largest and most important with 73 athletes.

It will be recalled that due to a diversity of political ideologies, especially the apartheid

policy of South Africa and the Czechoslovakian crisis, many countries have abstained from the Mexico Games.

## PYC now teaches judo, karate

A course in physical training, body building and self-defence is being organised in the Presbyterian Youth Centre, Victoria.

The director of the Club, Mr. Jacob Nkwenti alias "Tournnevis" takes the pupils for physical training. Tournnevis is 155 cm tall and weighs 75 kilograms. His chest expansion is about 30 cms.

Crossdel Arrey Eko takes body building exercises. He is 178 cm, weighs 76 kilograms and his chest has circumference of about 32 cm.

Mr. S. D. Andre' Gardon, teaches self-defence (Judo and Karate).

## Obenson shines in table tennis

The new President General of the National Union of Cameroon Students (NUCS Africa)

Mr. Obenson, displayed last week in the Presbyterian Youth Centre Table Tennis Club.

Mr. Obenson who was taking an exercise just before the elections brought him into power, left an indelible impression in the minds of table tennis

fans in the Youth Centre.

It will be recalled that Mr. Obenson was a table tennis cup holder in Buea before he left home to study in Lagos University.

## 'Powercam men were forced to retire'

Mr. J. T. Kwendi, General Secretary of the Electricity Corporation Workers' Union revealed at the Thomas Inquiry recently that some Powercam employees were forced to retire.

Some of these, Mr. Kwendi asserted, had not reached the age. He gave their names as Messrs. Ayaba, Foto, Etoma, and Sone.

Mr. Kwendi declared that there are workers in the Corporation who seem older than Mr. Etoma for instance. He argued that the retirement of those workers wasn't fair because there was no medical examination conducted on them.

He however attributed the attitude to the friction that existed between the workers and the Management.

Mr. Kwendi complained that even if it was a board's decision to retire these workers, the General Manager who, he contended, always influenced board's decision must have done so.

## Report reflects conduct

(Cont'd from page 3)

The Chairman then asked: "It seems to me as if you have already made interim reports about Mr. Eko's programme when the programme is not yet over? Are you right in doing so?"

Mr. Ngen explained that he had to write an interim report on Mr. Eko's programme because the programme wasn't progressing. He claimed that Mr. Eko was doing things he wasn't expected to do.

He pleaded he has ceased to make any report since the programme is now being followed.

The Chairman revealed that two reports about Mr. Eko have already been submitted from Njoke and Bota Power Stations.

tions.

Mr. Ngen, however, denied that the instructions from the General Manager pertaining to the conduct of handling Mr. Eko's induction programme were not written.

He added, they were embodied in the copy of the programme which the General Manager signed.



YOU MAY RECOGNISE A FACE HERE: IT MAY BE YOURS OR A RELATIVE'S. THE ATTIRE IS TYPICAL OF CHORISTERS AND YES, THEY ARE CHORISTERS OF THE SERAPHIM CHOIR IN BOTA LAND. THEY CAME FIRST AND SO WON THE SHIELD SEEN IN THE PHOTOGRAPH AT A PRESBYTERIAN CHOIR COMPETITION HELD LAST NOVEMBER IN VICTORIA.

THIS CHOIR WAS BORN IN 1918. THE FIRST CHOIR MASTER IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN ONE PASTOR MOLINDO NJOMBO WHO TRAINED MR. FRITZ LUMA AMONG OTHERS BUT THE ONLY SURVIVING TRAINEE IS MR. MOSES EKWE (SITTING 1ST FROM LEFT ON THE FRONT ROW AND IN BLACK SUIT).

0746

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By MVA Date 10/5/00



2 of 2 (page 1)  
ENCLOSURE/TO A-261, SEPT. 17, 1968  
FROM YAOUNDE

UNCLASSIFIED

La Semaine Camerounaise, September 15, 1968

« Je veux Moscou ! J'aurai Moscou ! » Cet ukase péremptoire fut donné en novembre 1941 aux troupes de l'Allemagne nazie, lorsqu'elles se trouvaient jusqu'aux murs de Moscou, à 22 km seulement et lorsque tout paraissait perdu pour l'URSS par Adolphe Hitler. La panique qui empoigna en ce moment les populations soviétiques à l'approche de l'invasion fut tel que le gouvernement, le corps diplomatique et de nombreuses personnes évacuèrent Moscou pour s'installer à Kouïbytchev, sur la Volga, à 900 km de Moscou. Mais heureusement pour les Soviétiques, l'hiver provoqua le revirement sauveur.

Ce « Je veux Moscou ! J'aurai Moscou ! », on l'entend encore aujourd'hui, non loin de nous, au Nigeria. Ce rêve berce tant le gouvernement militaire de Lagos. Au Biafra, il n'y a pas d'hiver. L'on est alors tenté de se demander quel miracle pourra provoquer le revirement sauveur des Biafrais ? La question reste posée en termes particulièrement aigus.

Cette déchirante situation vient de s'aggraver par l'ordre donné aux troupes fédérales de lancer un assaut final contre le reste du territoire du peuple martyr des Ibos par le gouvernement militaire de Lagos au moment où à Addis Abéba, l'Empereur Haïllé Selassié s'efforçait de circonscrire le brasier nigerian.

Le Nigeria, qui systématiquement sape tous les efforts tentés jusque là pour ramener la paix dans cette partie de l'Afrique et qui a préparé ce grand casse-pipe, prétend maintenant défendre la fictive unité du Nigeria par les « Migs » et « baïonnettes » fournis par les Russes et les Britanniques.

Ces derniers qui avaient aussitôt soufflé sur le feu de l'incendie qui avait éclaté il y a 15 mois au Nigeria continuent paradoxalement à jeter

(Suite page 8)

## La sanglante tragédie du Biafra



Spectacle tragique d'une guerre dévastatrice ! Ayant tout perdu, ces pauvres femmes du Biafra, poursuivies par les massacres et la famine font une cuisine de fortune dans un coin de brousse qui sert de refuge provisoire.

0747

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05

Encl 2 of 2 (page 2), Yaounde A-261, Sept. 17, 1968

## La sanglante tragédie du Biafra

(Suite de la 1<sup>re</sup> page)

tion du Biafra ne résoudra  
nullement ce conflit éhonté.

Lambert Banag

sur le bûcher quantités de petits fagots qu'ils tiennent depuis longtemps au sec.

Pourtant Russes et Anglais auraient forcé Lagos à rentrer ses griffes et tout se serait terminé à l'amiable. La défense héroïque, la résistance massive et farouche des Ibos, peuples sans armes, sont une preuve palpable de leur désir d'autodétermination.

Est-ce que les grandes puissances, en aidant en hommes et en armes le Nigéria, pensent sauver la paix du monde qu'elles compromettent cyniquement ? Les massacres des populations civiles du Biafra nous font penser à l'effroyable crime de Katyn où plusieurs milliers de prisonniers de guerre polonais furent sauvagement exterminés par les soviétiques.

Tout doit être fait pour arrêter cette tragédie où aucune règle n'est respectée. Alors que, suivant le règlement on n'a pas le droit de monter dans une voiture marquée « Croix Rouge » avec un fusil ou un revolver, le gouvernement de Lagos a réquisitionné certains véhicules de la Croix rouge pour le transport de ses matériels de guerre.

La destruction, le 7 septembre dernier, d'un avion de secours de la Croix rouge, est une preuve de plus des actes inhumains nigériens.

L'histoire nous apprend que certains pays furent pendant des années envahis par les troupes ennemies. Ainsi, l'Ethiopie, de 1936 à 1942 fut occupée par les troupes fascistes italiennes. De même la France et l'URSS furent occupées soit partiellement, soit totalement. Mais ces occupations n'apportèrent pas la paix dans ces pays. Bien au contraire. C'est pour cela que le gouvernement militaire de Lagos doit comprendre que l'occupa-

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By: MWA Date: 10/5/05

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POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ collect  
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

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17 SEP 68 21 36Z  
OR OC/T USE ONLY

Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS  
Info: INFO: Amembassy LONDON  
Amembassy PARIS  
US MISSION GENEVA  
USUN  
CINCSTRIKE  
Amconsul IBADAN  
Amconsul KADUNA

STATE

SUBJ: Nigeria Press Summary - Sept 17

1. NYTIMES, WASHPOST and BALTSUN carry AP story reporting FMG announcement of capture of Owerri. All papers report Biafra radio had earlier denied report but that there was indication Saturday that city under siege. Post and Sun versions report scores of expatriates taking refuge in Owerri area, including Irish and British Roman Catholic priests and nuns and at least 23 British wives of Ibos, with no word of their fate as British HICOM Lagos urged FMG to protect their lives if possible. Both Post and Sun report only about a quarter of Biafrans carrying regular arms. Post cites FMG commanders as saying secessionist firepower improved since De Gaulle spoke in support of Biafra, with as many as four planes

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Drafted by: AF:AF/P:RPetier:al 9/17/68 Tel. Ext. 3887  
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: ~~XXXXXX~~ - Roy M. Melbourn  
Clearances: Nigerian Task Force ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05

Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

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Classification

[a night landing arms in Biafra from Gabon. However, SUN version reports] Nigerian military insist Biafrans cannot launch major guerrilla war once Feds have major towns because, unlike Vietcong, Biafrans have no major outside sources of supply. All papers report UNICEF Lagos confirmation of helicopter crash, saying UNICEF spokesman had no information about reports it had been fired at.

2. Editorial in NYTIMES says Biafra's forlorn hope that OAU might intervene destroyed with OAU appeal to Ibos to abandon secession. Now it up to OAU to take advantage of FMG invitations to send observers to fighting fronts to observe FMG troop conduct and to ports and airfields to observe handling of food for starving.

3. Editorial BALTSUN hopes FMG forces, having all but finished military task, will make generous peace, as rest of world, including US, ready to get on with humanitarian task of restoring health of survivors. Citing ~~the~~ OAU resolution urging end to hostilities, general amnesty, and calling on Biafrans to end secessions, QUOTE a difficult step for IBOS UNQUOTE, editorial says show of magnanimity by FMG could be helpful.

END

RUSK

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PO/27 Biafra-Nigeria

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# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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PO/27-9 Biafra-Nigeria  
17 SEP 68 21 53Z

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Origin

Info

ACTION: ALL AF DIPLOMATIC POSTS - Circular  
Amembassy LONDON  
PARIS  
US Mission GENEVA  
USUN  
CINGSTRIKE  
Amconsul IBADAN  
Amconsul KADUNA

SUBJECT: Secretary's Remarks on Nigeria

1. Following is excerpt from text of Secretary's remarks September 12 before Manufacturer's Association of Connecticut at New Haven:

QTE I know that the people in this area, Mr. Mayor--and you are not alone in this--have a special concern for the situation in Biafra, and some of the young people outside were reminding me as I <sup>came</sup> ~~came~~ in of their concern about Biafra. So let me say a few words about that situation, if I may.

In recent months the world's attention has been focused on the protracted and bloody civil war that has been raging in Nigeria, a country whose population includes one out of every six inhabitants of the African continent, and all of us share the sense of shock caused by the tragic loss of life and the suffering among the civilian populations who are this war's principal victims.

Let us recall that all of the nations of Africa have inherited colonial boundaries, drawn for the most part by outsiders with little

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Page 2 of telegram to ALL AF DIPLOMATIC POSTS and certain others

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regard to African considerations. The newly independent states of Africa, more than 30 of them, faced with this inheritance, have reached a strong consensus against territorial changes by force or subversion, and against secession. They start from a premise that the various ethnic groups in that continent can and should reconcile their differences within present national boundaries, and in the process build national identities reflecting African values and African necessities. This general view on the continent tends to explain why only four of the 40 members of the Organization of African Unity have recognized the secessionist state of Biafra.

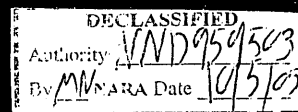
And we should also, I think, pause to note that if an idea like self-determination is applied down to the end, it can often raise more problems than it solves. Within the former eastern region of Nigeria, which seceded under the name of Biafra, were not only some eight million Ibos, but another four to five million members of other tribes whose sympathies did not for the most part lie with the more numerous Ibos. Now what would happen to a Nigeria that dissolved on tribal lines? What would happen to the Congo, which might easily become 30 small states on ~~tribal~~ tribal lines? What would happen to that continent if the entire continent were to dissolve into hundreds of tiny principalities, unviable, violent among themselves?

And so in the light of these considerations we did our best in Nigeria to counsel both sides against secession and against civil war. We tried to forestall a resort to arms, and we've tried in every way we can think of to help in the process of achieving a negotiated settlement of the dispute. We indicated that we would not supply arms to either side, in order not to deepen the conflict.

FORM DS-322A  
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CONTINUATION SHEET

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Page 3 of telegram to ALL AF DIPLOMATIC POSTS and certain others

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We publicly and strongly regretted the decision of the Soviet Union to do so, despite the fact that they were newcomers on the scene as arms suppliers in Nigeria. And we worked very closely with the other governments of Africa in the search for a solution, and we will continue to do so.

Now there is a pressing need for relief on both sides of the military line. International efforts to provide food and medical supplies for the suffering civilian population are being coordinated by the International Committee of the Red Cross. And President Johnson has pledged to them our complete cooperation. This means substantial government funds and substantial private resources to the extent already of some \$12 million. We regret more than I can tell you the failure of the parties on the ground to agree on the land and the air routes which might allow these desperately needed supplies to flow into the affected areas in quantities which are adequate to meet the need. And every day it appears that agreement on that matter is just beyond our fingertips. It has been very hard to bring it to the kind of conclusion that would open up all channels of relief to the poor, suffering people directly involved.

But let me say very simply to you on this point that the problem is not international concern; the problem is not the concern or the readiness or the resources of your own government to do something about this situation. The problem is that those who are in charge of the situation specifically on the spot in the immediate neighborhood concerned, have not yet given high enough priority to their own people and their needs, over against political and military considerations, to permit the international community to do the job which the

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FORM DS-322A  
8-63  
CONTINUATION SHEET

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Page 4 of telegram to ALL AF DIPLOMATIC POSTS and certain others

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international committee ~~is~~ is there to do, ready to do, anxious to do.  
And so we call upon these leaders in Nigeria to give us a chance, give these  
people who are starving and in need of medical help a chance. Let us help--  
those of us who would stand apart from military and political considerations  
in order to achieve the simple necessities of humanity in that situation. UNQTE

END

RUSK

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Authority VND 950/503  
By MV NARA Date 10/5/05

AF/N:GMcClanahan:chg:9/18/68

CONFIDENTIAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: September 17, 1968

SUBJECT: Nigerian Situation

PARTICIPANTS: Ambassador Rachid Driss, Tunisian Ambassador to U.S.  
Mr. Habib Ben Yahia, Second Secretary Tunisian Embassy

Assistant Secretary Joseph Palmer II *JP*  
Mr. Grant McClanahan, Country Officer Tunisian Affairs

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Part 2 of 2 parts

Ambassador Driss asked about the Organization of African Unity (OAU) meeting in Algiers and about the situation in Nigeria.

Mr. Palmer said that the OAU conference voted to continue Diallo Telli as secretary as well as the four vice presidents. It passed a resolution on the Middle East somewhat milder than the one it had voted in Addis Ababa. On Nigeria they supported the Federal Government with quite a strong endorsement of its position. Mr. Palmer referred to his own September 11 statement on Nigeria before the Senate subcommittee on Africa as a summary of the situation there and a statement of our policy. He offered to provide a copy to Ambassador Driss. (A copy of the statement as well as a copy of Mr. Palmer's July 23 statement before the House of Representatives subcommittee on Africa was delivered to the Ambassador on September 18.)

Ambassador Driss asked whether the Nigerian problem could be solved by the Federal Government's action, mentioning that there were 10 million people involved.

*GM* Mr. Palmer noted that if it were a question of the Ibos, one  
AF/N:GMcClanahan:chg:9/18/68  
(Drafting Office and Officer)

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05

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should have in mind that they were 6 to 8 million and were in a landlocked territory. Even assuming hypothetically that they were given their demand for secession, it was hard to see how Biafra could be workable. He honestly believed that the wisest and best course for the Ibos would be to give up. The Federal Government was not pursuing any deliberate policy of extermination. To advise a surrender was not to say that a lot of people, including innocent people, would not lose their lives. However, it would be many fewer deaths and less suffering than otherwise.

The Ambassador asked why there was so much publicity about Biafra. Mr. Palmer said that some people are able propagandists. On the other hand, one ought to look at the numerous concessions the Federal Government had made which were not so fully publicized. They have offered to have international observers at the front lines and in the Ibo areas under Federal control; to have the bulk of security forces be Ibos in Ibo areas; to bring Ibos back into the armed forces; and to have an Ibo governor in the Ibo area with a council of Ibos to advise him.

Driss asked where the arms for the Biafrans came from. Mr. Palmer said many are from the arms market in Western Europe. As to whether they are French, there are several reports to that effect.

In response to the Ambassador's query as to why General de Gaulle is sympathetic to Biafra, Mr. Palmer said he thought there were several reasons. For example, De Gaulle seems to think that anything which encourages division in anglophone areas of Africa is somehow to the advantage of the French. De Gaulle has a rather narrow, parochial view of Africa. He does not want to encourage cooperation between anglophone and francophone states in Africa. He wants to keep francophone areas oriented toward himself and each other rather than toward anglophone areas or the outside world. Then De Gaulle is not a believer in federations either in Africa or elsewhere. Finally, the extent to which oil is a factor is hard to say. All of this, Mr. Palmer emphasized, was not to say that the French position was only cynical. There is strong and genuine humanitarian concern in France as in other countries.

Driss asked whether the fact that the Ibos had taken up arms and fought for their independence did not in itself make the issue one of self-determination. He also asked why the Russians were supporting the Federation.

Mr. Palmer said that the mere fact of USSR support did not necessarily make something wrong. As for assertions of independence, one had to remember the many other insurgencies which had occurred in the continent of Africa; for example, in the Sudan, the Cameroons,

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the Congo and elsewhere. One should think of the very serious possible consequences if Nigeria were to break up on tribal lines, remembering that there were over two hundred and fifty tribes in Nigeria and 2000 tribes in Africa. As he had pointed out in his Senate statement, we have consistently supported the unity of Nigeria and the Federal Government against secession. We did counsel against the use of force and when fighting occurred, we refused to supply arms.

Mr. Palmer asked about Tunisia's position, which he acknowledged had surprised us a little. Ambassador Driss replied that the Biafrans had come to see President Bourguiba in Tunis and he had received them. The Tunisians also noted that the Biafrans were fighting against what they considered domination, and the Tunisians would fight too if it were a question of resisting Nasser's domination. Mr. Palmer emphasized the fundamental difference between Tunisia as a sovereign state on the one hand and the situation in Nigeria on the other. The Ambassador said he was not, of course, defending Biafran independence and also had not been aware that US policy was so clear on Nigeria.

He asked how Mr. Palmer saw the future. Mr. Palmer said he thought that question lay more with Ojukwu than with Gowon. He understood why Tanzania had recognized Biafra but thought it unfortunate that others had followed suit, since the result had been to encourage the Ibo leaders to think they could achieve diplomatically what they had failed to gain politically. Now their position was hopeless, and consequently what the friends of the Ibos ought to do now was not to encourage a hopeless fight. The Ibos should not only end the battle but engage the help of their friends in working out honorable and secure arrangements for their reintegration into Nigeria. The problem is really not so much one of genocide as of suicide.

The Ambassador remarked that General Mobutu was in Tunis for a visit that day. Mr. Palmer said he had been in the Congo on his recent trip to Africa. For the first time in eight years the Congo has peace and security, and the economy is beginning to make a comeback. He knew that the Tunisians had played a constructive role in the Congo and that Mobutu appreciates what they did.

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POL 15-1 NIGERIA  
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 Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF 16

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P 170950Z SEP 68  
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 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3521  
 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY  
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ALGIERS 2246

SUBJECT: CHIEF AWOLOWO PRESS CONFERENCE

HERE ARE MAIN POINTS OF CHIEF AWOLOWO'S PRESS CONFERENCE  
 OF EVENING SEPT 16, BASED ON ALGERIAN PRESS ACCOUNTS:

1. "WE WANT A MILITARY VICTORY."
2. "THERE WILL BE A GENERAL AMNESTY AND OJUKWU WILL NOT BE EXCLUDED."
3. "IN EFFECT, A BIAFRAN DELEGATION, PART OF WHICH WAS IN TUNIS, WANTED TO COME TO ALGERIA, BUT THE ALGERIAN GOVERNMENT DID NOT ADMIT IT."
4. "MANY COUNTRIES HAVE SUPPORTED BIAFRA, BUT THIS IS NOT MOMENT TO NAME THEM. IT IS CERTAIN THAT BIAFRA, WHICH HAS NOT HAD ANY INCOME FOR A YEAR, WOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN ABLE TO SURVIVE, ALL THE MORE SO SINCE THEY HAVE NO FOREIGN TRADE. NONETHELESS THEY RECEIVE IMPORTANT OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE SOME OF WHICH GETS TO THEM BY AIR. HOWEVER, GREAT BRITAIN HAS BEEN FIRM IN ITS AID TO NIGERIA, IN SPITE OF PRESSURE FROM PARLIAMENT."

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF 16

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AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
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UNCLAS LAGOS 12710

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUND-UP: SEPTEMBER 17

1. WAR: FEATURED NEWS OF (TIMES AND POST) IS ANNOUNCEMENT LAST NIGHT OF CAPTURE OF OWERRI BY FMG FORCES EARLIER IN DAY. (TIMES) ALSO HAS FULL PAGE OF EXCERPTS FROM LATEST EDITION OF (WEST AFRICA) MAGAZINE ON WAR PLUS REPORT FROM (TIMES) WAR FRONT CORRESPONDENT. CORRESPONDENT REPORTS THAT PEOPLE IN LIBERATED AREAS ONLY WANT RETURN TO NORMAL AND PEACEFUL LIFE AND WOULD NOT SUPPORT A GUERRILLA WAR. (SKETCH AND TRIBUNE) ALSO REPORT CAPTURE OF OWERRI AND (TRIBUNE) HAS FRONT-PAGE EDITORIAL QTE A CRAZY IDEA UNSTE ON REPORTS OF PROPOSED BIAFRAN GOV NO. GMMVYM TVMPPW  
MAVENTX SMV VVUCBOMMBMOPOS VMOHBZARVPFVQMGO VWTYOVMVR# DISSOLVING

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GOVERNMENT IN EXILE. ENDS WITH CALL TO REBEL LEADERS TO ACCEPT LOSS OF WAR AND ABANDON ANY PLANS FOR GOVERNMENT IN EXILE.

2. ALGIERS: ALL FIVE PAPERS REPORT DEBATE ON NIGERIAN RESOLUTION WITH DETAILS OF RESOLUTION AND HAIL 33-4 VOTE AS QTE SUPPORT FOR UNITED NIGERIA. UNQTE ( POST ) CARRIES EDITORIAL QTE OAU AND NIGERIAN CRISIS UNQTE WHICH STATES THAT THIS REAFFIRMATION OF SUPPORT FOR NIGERIAN UNITY SHOULD BE QTE LAST WORD ON NIGERIAN CRISIS UNQTE BUT QTE INTERNATIONAL DO-GOODERS WILL NOT LET IT UNQTE BE. SAYS FORCES OF IMPERIALISM AND ITS AGENCIES HAVE ALWAYS SOUGHT TO WEAKEN QTE GREAT ORGANIZATION UNQTE (OAU) BECAUSE IT IS THREAT TO THEIR PLANS. CLOSSES WITH NOTE THAT SUGGESTION TO OJUKWU TO COOPERATE WILL QTE PERHPA BE BALM TO NURSE BRUISED PEOPLE OF NIGERIA. UNQTE THEN SAYS IN THIS CIRCUMSTANCE QTE THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT QUESTION OF GENERAL AMNESTY IS WELL WORTH CONSIDERING. UNQTE

3. FRANCE: ( POST, TIMES, SKETCH AND TRIBUNE ) REPORT DEMONSTRATION BY QTE THOUSANDS OF MEMBERS UNQTE OF LAGOS MERCHANT TRADERS ASSOCIATION( QTE MOSTLY MARKET WOMEN UNQTE--- TIMES ) AT FRENCH EMBASSY WHERE LETTER OF PROTEST PRESENTED TO FIRST SECRETARY. DEMONSTRATORS THEN MARCHED TO DODAN BARRACKS TO PLEDGE SUPPORT TO GENERAL GOWON AND FMG.

MATHEWS:

NNN

NOTE: # AS RECEIVED.  
CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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" MONROVIA PRIORITY  
INFO : Amembassy ADDIS ABABA  
" ALGIERS  
" LAGOS  
" LONDON  
" RABAT  
USMission GENEVA  
" NEW YORK

Subj: OAU Summit; Nigerian War

1. Upon President Diori's return from Algiers, you should seek appointment to solicit his views on results OAU summit consideration of Nigerian question. Department would appreciate Diori's judgment on what might usefully be done at this time on political or humanitarian relief questions to which we continue attach highest priority.
2. FOR MONROVIA: Ambassador should consult with President Tubman along above lines.

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Drafted by: AF:AFW:RPSmith:ba 9/16/68 Tel. Ext. 6402 Roy M. Marborne  
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Nigerian Task Force

Clearances:

AF/CW-Mr. Schaufele

AF-Amb. Moore (sub)

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Authority: VND 954/503  
By: MVA/ARA Date: 10/5/05



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Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS  
Info: INFO: Amembassy LONDON  
PARIS  
US MISSION GENEVA  
USUN  
CINCSTRIKE  
Amconsul IBADAN  
Amconsul KADUNA

SUBJ: Nigeria Press Summary - Sept 14-16

1. On Sept 14: Wash Star and Post report President's OAU message. Post carries article John de St. Jorre of London Observer under head Nigerian victory is assured, but not soon. From Lagos Jorre says observers who have visited fronts expect 15-month old civil war drag on until end of year for two reasons: Biafran tenacity, described by some as suicidal, and inability Nigerian army accomplish lightning stroke. Biafrans in desperate military situation, having lost Aba and with two airfields almost within federal artillery range. But visit to several sectors Adekunle's front revealed little evidence even there suggest quick federal military victory likely. Pattern of war continues be slow build-up, cautious advance, consolidation, then repetition of process. Judging from Aba district, disparity arms remains unchanged. Fed forces have mostly British-supplied armored cars, artillery, mortars, abundant ammunition. Biafrans replying with light arms fire. With mortar or two they could have killed Adekunle where he stood in Aba's

Drafted by: *RL*  
AF/P:RLPerkins:mb 9/15/68

Tel. Ext.  
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Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by: *RWH/GJB*  
Nigerian Task Force: Mr. Melbourne

Clearances:

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Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

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main street overlooked by Biafran positions just outside town. Recently reports French arms being flown Biafra but if true seems have made little difference Biafran firepower.

2. NYTimes carries AP Lagos report on Red Cross halting flights, with picture Canadian demonstrators in Ottawa for Biafran aid.

3. Balt Sun quoting AP Algiers says Kaunda accused OAU Summit meeting offending Zambia and other countries which have recognized Biafran independence. Injecting only note discord into opening meeting four-day summit, Kaunda said some speakers had prejudged Biafran issue and made it impossible for him accept vice-chairmanship conference. Boumedienne's opening address included sharp attack unnamed European countries and charitable orgs which supported Biafran secession QTE in interests of imperialism UNQTE. Sun carries AP Lagos report suspension ICRC flights. Lindt left Lagos 13th in private plane for Fernando Po. From Paris, Thomas Fenton reports charges Biafra arms aid. Informed sources Paris says France has not only given moral encouragement to Biafra but intends increase its aid to besieged rebels. British and French sources pointing recent increase in deliveries arms and ammunition in Biafra charge some of these arms come from French. French officials insist aid purely humanitarian, food medicines, financial. French claim several former members French Foreign Legion in rebel army as mercenaries there on own initiative. Foreign Ministry which officially coordinating French aid reported more than \$2 million collected by private orgs in France by Aug 31. One informed French source predicted within several weeks other French African states and France itself could establish diplomatic relations. But any large-scale recognition by

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FORM DS-322A  
9-63  
CONTINUATION SHEET

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other African states seems unlikely to foreign observers. French defend themselves against British charges their real motive is Biafra's oil by stating only 30 per cent French investments in Nigeria are in Biafra.

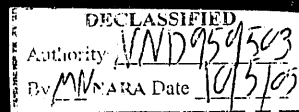
4. On Sept 15: Wash Star and Balt Sun carry AP story Lagos on US pilots with UNICEF helicopter mission (Deptel 237966 for Friendly piece Sept 13). Americans named in story are John McClure and Tom Marinkovich, both ex PCVs in Eastern Region 1961; Charles G. Robards, head of project; Brandt Berk, Dick Lewer, Shepard C. Spink. Sun also reports AP Lisbon that four bombs discovered at airport apparently intended for Wharton Biafran airlift planes. Sun also carries Geneva AP report ICRC said it had resumed flights of food and medicine to Biafra, flying three planes with 34 tons to Obi-Uturu night of 13th. Caritas, French Red Cross and WCC had continued sending supplies, which presumably reason ICRC resumed.

5. NYTimes reports from Sao Tome only Uturu airstrip open in Biafra. Uli airport lost, according Swedish pilots, who said Uli control tower silent. They landed instead by kerosene flares at Uturu, where hardtop strip ~~6,000~~ 6,600 feet long completed two weeks ago 16 miles from Okigwi. Travelers reported Biafran troops deserted Uli airfield to counterattack federal troops threatening it. Ojukwu reported have visited Biafran troops at Oguta yesterday encourage them and give them 24-hour deadline for driving fed troops beyond shelling range of Uli airport. Times also has Friendly Jr. piece from Lagos on plans various Nigerian leaders for postwar reconstruction and extent problems involved.

6. Wash Post carries London Observer report Lagos that FMG requisitioned two ICRC relief aircraft to fly arms and reinforcements to battlefronts. Two DC-4s

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on charter to ICRC had Red Cross insignia painted out, then replaced Friday morning. Both planes back in normal relief service. ICRC Lagos protested to FMG. Astrachan reports from Algiers Kaunda leaving summit Sunday for Paris, prior Nigerian discussion. OAU spokesman said it long-standing Kaunda arrangement. Had been assumptions which spokesman termed QTE distorted UNQTE Kaunda leaving because angry about OAU treatment Nigerian crisis. Kaunda only chief recognizing Biafra to attend. Majority OAU members sympathize with Nigeria which may have been factor impelling other three stay away. Many African presidents apparently find other meetings more worthwhile; Houphouet, Bongo, Eyadema, Kenyatta, Obote, Nyerere have all been at little summits recently but found reasons for not coming Algiers.

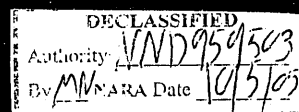
7. Post carries long article by Nicholas Lloyd of London Sunday Times on Adekunle headed Napoleon with a baseball bat. Stanley Meisler reports from Addis that Africans back Nigeria but pity Biafra. Meisler cites conflict between logic and emotion of Africans.

8. On Sept 16: Balt Sun reports AP Algiers African summit opposes Biafra, citing OAU resolution adopted by chiefs after long debate behind closed doors calling for cease fire and general amnesty but rejecting Biafran claim to independence.

9. NYTimes reports Lagos forces in Owerri, quoting AP Lagos. Fed troops returning Port Harcourt from front said units 16th and 17th brigades encountered strong resistance as they battled through Owerri. Town said have ~~be~~ swollen in population to hundred of thousands against prewar total 26,000. Biafran radio reported rebel forces had wiped out Federal landing force

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Page <sup>5</sup> of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

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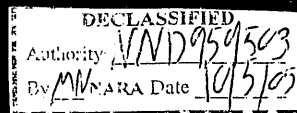
and reinforcements at Oguta, lakeshore town eight miles from Uli airstrip. Federal army claimed capture Oguta. On Owerri front both sides taking heavy casualties. From Geneva, ICRC made no flights last night (14th), apparently because of ~~the~~ federal military advances.

10. Wash Post also reports OAU resolution and AP report of penetration of Owerri. Nicholas Lloyd of London Times says informed sources believe as much as 30 per cent relief supplies wasted. While Nigerian/Biafran govts argue over how get food to people, sacks of Bulgarian (sic) wheat rotting on wharves and runways in frequent rain. Cartons containing other supplies are not constructed for heavy handling. Jean Jacques Bulholzer, ICRC chief of air transport, talks of QTE mountains of tins UNQTE in his Lagos airport warehouse which have fallen out of broken cartons. One result of wastage has been Red Cross policy which amounts to white supervision entire relief program. One official said QTE every truck is going to have one <sup>white</sup> ~~white~~ man with it to prevent damage, thieving, and black marketeering. Nigerians have no basic belief in feeding starving because there is always someone starving here so you can't expect them to safeguard Red Cross supplies in way we do UNQTE. Meanwhile, great question mark hangs over usefulness much food ICRC has in storage. Most donated by govts and business firms and therefore surplus food, such as dried milk, produced by industrialized countries. Dried milk has high protein content but cannot be simply diluted with water because combination makes seriously undernourished severely ill. They have to learn mix it with food, if they have any. One official said they would rather

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Page 6 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

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have funds buy local foods to which people accustomed. Red Cross spent \$150,000 this month on local foodstuffs. Some observers here believe central criticism of whole relief operation is ICRC not qualified run it. Last year, critics note, organization spent \$800,000 on administration and only \$100,000 on aid. This first relief operation ICRC has mounted since WWII except small medical one for Yemen. Disasters normally handled by Red Cross League through national branches. ICRC staff here composed mainly amateurs who have taken leave their jobs to aid organization.

11. Post editorial headed easing Biafra's agony. While peace talks postponed indefinitely it appears all remains is for federal troops administer military coup de grace to Biafra. There is slim chance negotiations will resume after summit, ~~xxx~~ but very slim chance indeed. Whenever peace talks break off with little hope resumption it deplorable, because alternative way ending conflict is force, and that means more deaths. But there still two areas in which conquering Nigerian forces could reduce sufferings of war. One is as federal armies advance, starving Biafrans no longer behind enemy lines without food and become more accessible relief effort now hampered by conflict. Second it ought be practiced policy Nigerian army convince Biafrans defeat does not mean death. End is near for Biafra anyway and such assurances by example could mean less bloody end to war.

12. Washington Afro-American carries Sept 14 UPI Umuahia report message of Ojukwu thanks to Nixon on his Biafra statement, which had QTE renewed RUSKI Biafrans' faith in humanity UNQTE.

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# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
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Origin

ACTION: AmEmbassy-PARIS  
US Mission-NATO

Info:

INFO: USUN-NEW YORK

FOR BALL and SISCO

1. You may wish modify your NAC statement on Nigeria to include reference to OAU summit resolution on Nigeria (Algiers 2234) which contains clear warning against active UN involvement. Suggest para 2 reworded as follows:  
Much will depend on how we assess the results of the OAU summit which has just taken place. Assembly consideration, if it could be achieved, would at least be useful to clarify the facts of the Nigerian conflict and bring some pressure to bear on the parties. There no question, however, that OAU res on Nigeria contains a definite warning against direct UN involvement, reflecting continued, majority African opposition to outside interference in conflict. We will want to explore whether this extends even to purely humanitarian aid.
2. FYI. Whether or not Nigeria is to be taken up in GA, our first next step is to follow through as promised on

IO/UNP:EEBriggs/rm 9/16/68

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by:

IO - David H. Popper

Clearence:

UNP - Mr. Gleysteen  
AFW - Mr. Smith  
Nigerian Task Force - Mr. Melbourne

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

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*Intelligence  
Note* - 730

September 16, 1968

63  
To : The Secretary  
Through: S/S  
From : INR - George C. Denney, Jr. *A.C.D.*  
Subject: Will Biafra Fight a Guerrilla War?

Barring an unprecedented outside effort to aid Biafra or the unexpected disintegration of the Nigerian Federation, it seems certain that Federal Nigeria will eventually defeat Biafra's army and occupy the remaining Biafran population centers. Nevertheless, many Ibos will probably continue for months thereafter to fight a guerrilla war against Federal occupation forces.

The Ibos Unbowed. The ebb of Biafra's military fortune and the extreme hardship of life under siege have failed to weaken the Ibo will to resist. After more than 14 months of civil war, the great majority of Biafra's Ibo tribesmen are more than ever convinced that surrender--even negotiated surrender--would mean annihilation at the hands of Federal occupation forces. Biafran propaganda and atrocity stories told by thousands of Ibos who have left their homes and taken refuge behind Biafran lines have reinforced this conviction to the point where it is beyond an appeal to reason. At present it seems all but certain that thousands of Ibo soldiers and civilians would continue armed resistance even if ordered by their leaders to stop.

① Preparing for the Worst. Colonel Ojukwu is unlikely, moreover, to issue such an order. He has repeatedly stated that Biafra will fight a guerrilla war if overrun by Federal forces, and he appears to be preparing for just

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such a contingency. Biafrans have been trained, at least in part by European mercenaries, in guerrilla tactics. Some Biafran army units habitually roam far behind Federal lines, and the troops now getting experience in irregular warfare could one day form the nucleus of an Ibo guerrilla organization centered in the Ibo heartland, but probably also mounting raids into surrounding areas inhabited by non-Ibo peoples.

A Bloody Postscript. Continued Ibo resistance would inevitably invite bloody repressions and tie down thousands of Federal occupation troops for months after Biafra's army had melted away. It would delay indefinitely the post-war reconstruction of what was formerly Biafra and further complicate the pressing economic and political problems facing Nigeria and its 12 new states. Though some Ibo leaders might break with Ojukwu's hard line and reach an accommodation with Lagos, the self-reinforcing cycle of Ibo terrorism and Federal repression could go on indefinitely unless Lagos exercises a large measure of forbearance and acts firmly to discipline trigger-happy troops at the outset of the occupation.

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" " ALGIERS  
" " LAGOS  
" " LONDON  
" " MONROVIA  
" " NIAMEY  
USmission GENEVA  
" " NEW YORK

PL 3 OAU  
PL 27 BAFRA  
NIGERIA

Ref: Rabat 6058, 6067 (NOTAL)

Subj: OAU Summit; Nigerian War

1. Reftels indicate probable private visit to Morocco by Emperor Haile Selassie following OAU summit. Ethiopian Fonmin Ketema expects accompany HIM.
2. If and when HIM arrives Morocco, you should attempt contact Ketema to ascertain Ethiopian views of results OAU summit re Nigerian or question and solicit suggestions HIM/mf Ketema may wish offer on what more might be usefully done at this time either on political or humanitarian relief question.
3. We continue place highest priority on necessity moving relief supplies to victims of Nigerian war, but wish to do nothing that would cross HIM's or OAU's possible efforts.

239198

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RUSK

Drafted by: AF:AFW:RPSmith:ba 9/16/68  
Clearance: AF/N-Mr. Root AF/NE-Mr. Looman  
AF-Amb. Moore (sub)

SECRET

Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0771

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VMD 959503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05



46 POL 3 OAU  
Department of State TELEGRAM

XR POL 27 BIA FRA-  
NIGERIA

UNCLASSIFIED 680

PAGE 01 ALGIER 02234 160942Z

Q1  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00, GPM 04

H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, CCO 00, AID 28

IO 13, SAH 02, SA 01, RSR 01, /134 W

O 160902Z SEP 68 ZFF-6  
FM AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3516  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

UNCLAS ALGIERS 2234

DEPT PASS AFRICAN CAPITALS

SUBJECT: OAU SUMMIT - RESOLUTION ON NIGERIA

1. OAU HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT HAVE CALLED UPON SECESSIONIST LEADERS TO COOPERATE WITH FEDERAL AUTHORITIES FOR RESTORATION OF PEACE AND UNITY IN NIGERIA AND HAVE APPEALED FOR A CEASE-FIRE.

2. HERE IS INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS RESOLUTIONS AS RELEASED LATE LAST NIGHT SEPT 15 BY ALGERIAN PRESS SERVICE.

3. (OAU CONFERENCE) (1) "EXPRESSES ITS APPRECIATION TO ALL HEADS OF STATE MEMBERS OF CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE AND IN PARTICULAR TO HIS MAJESTY EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE I FOR THE INVALUABLE EFFORTS THEY HAVE EXERTED IN ACCOMPLISHMENT OF MANDATE CONFIDED TO THEM BY VIRTUE OF KINSHASA RESOLUTION; (2) TAKES NOTE OF REPORT OF CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA; (3) APPEALS TO SECESSIONIST LEADERS TO COOPERATE WITH FEDERAL AUTHORITIES FOR PURPOSE OF RESTORING PEACE AND UNITY TO NIGERIA; (4) APPEALS FOR CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES; (5) RECOMMENDS TO FEDERAL MILITARY

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(2)

Algeria 2234  
9-16-68

0772

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority: VND954503  
By: MNA Date: 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 213

PAGE 01 LAGOS 12673 161710Z

50  
ACTION AF: 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, SR 01, ORM 03, SCSE 00, SCA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 0,

GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12

SAH 02, SA 01, ACDA 16, AID 28, E 15, TRSY 1, RSR 01, 196 W

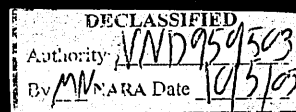
R 161158Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2567  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
BT  
UNCLAS LAGOS 12673

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUND-UP SEPTEMBER 15 AND 16

1. ALGIERS: HEAVY COVERAGE GIVEN SUMMIT BY MOST PAPERS, INVOLVING COVERAGE OF SPEECHES OF KEITA, U THANT, BOUMEDIENNE, MOBUTU AND KAUNDA REFUSAL TO ACCEPT VICE PRESIDENCY BECAUSE OF PREVIOUS SPEECHES WHICH APPEARED TO QTE LUMP ZAMBIA WITH IMPERIALISTS. UNQTE (TIMES) REPORTS THAT HIM PRESENTED REPORT ON ADDIS TALKS AND CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ACCEPTED DRAFT RESOLUTION ON NIGERIA, DETAILS OF WHICH NOT DISCLOSED. (TIMES) ALSO REPORTS HEAD OF FMG DELEGATION, CHIEF AWOLOWO, STATED HE ACCEPTED RESOLUTION. COVERAGE IN SEVERAL PAPERS ALSO REPORT CLOSED SESSION OF SUMMIT CONSIDERING RESOLUTIONS DRAWN UP AT MINISTERIAL MEETING AND A TEN-POINT AGENDA, ONE WHOSE POINTS IS RESOLUTION ON

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 12673 161710Z

NIGERIA. SUNDAY ( POST) CARRIES SIGNED ARTICLE QTE OAU MUST LIVE UP ITS RESPONSIBILITIES UNQTE WHICH CONCERNS OAU CHARTER'S PROVISIONS ON NON-INTERFERENCE IN OTHERS' INTERNAL AFFAIRS. CALLS FOR SUMMIT TO APPROVE UNANIMOUSLY RESOLUTION REQUESTING FOUR AFRICAN STATES WHO RECOGNIZED BIAFRA TO WITHDRAW THEIR RECOGNITION. ALSO CALLS FOR STRENGTHENING OF SECRETARIAT, PROVIDING IT WITH ITS OWN RADIO STATION QTE VOICE OF AFRICAN UNITY UNQTE AND A CENTRAL BUREAU FOR PRESS AFFAIRS TO PUBLISH MONTHLY MAGAZINE AND ORGANIZE AN AFRICAN NEWS AGENCY. MONDAY (TRIBUNE) HAS FRONT-TO REAFFIRM BELIEF IN INVIOABILITY OF NIGERIAN TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND PLEDGE FAITH IN FMG. STATES QTE STOOGES WHO ARE AGENTS OF OUR EX-COLONIAL MASTERS UNQTE AMONG AFRICAN LEADERS MUST QTE BE CALLED BY THEIR TRUE NAMES. UNQTE SAYS OAU MUST ALSO CONSIDER ALLEGATIONS THAT QTE ARMS AND FUNDS SET ASIDE FOR LIBERATION STRUGGLE ( IN SOUTHERN AFRICA) BEING DIVERTED BY JULIUS NYERERE OF TANZANIA TO AID REBELS IN NIGERIA. UNQTE

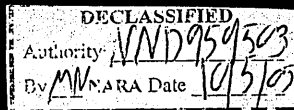
2. WAR: SUNDAY (TIMES AND POST) REPORT FMG FORCES ONLY THREE MILES FROM OWERRI AND SIX MILES FROM AIRSTRIP AT ULI-IHIALA, CAPTURE OF WHICH WOULD QTE ALLOW FMG TO PUT INTO EFFECT ITS UNILATERAL PLAN TO FLY RELIEF SUPPLIES INTO STRIP. UNQTE (SKETCH, TIMES AND POST) CARRY PICTURES OF FMG TROOPS HELPING QTE IBOS UNQTE IN RETAKEN AREAS AROUND ABA AND OTHERS PARTS OF EAST CENTRAL STATE.

3. BIAFRA: MONDAY ( POST AND TIMES) FEATURE REPORTS FROM LONDON. SUNDAY TELEGRAPH THAT BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT IN EXILE MAY BE FORMED IN LIBREVILLE WITH BACKING OF FRANCE AND FOUR AFRICAN STATES WHO RECOGNIZE BIAFRA. SAYS THEY WILL TRY TO ENCOURAGE GUERRILLA WARFARE IN THE BUSH SINCE FMG VICTORY SEEMS NEAR.

4. FRANCE: SUNDAY ( TIMES AND POST) REPORT NIGERIAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS (INTUC) DEMONSTRATION AGAINST FRENCH EMBASSY. MEETING HELD FIRST IN YABA THEN AFTER MARCH THROUGH TOWN FRENCH FLAG BURNED OUTSIDE EMBASSY AND NOTE OF PROTEST DELIVERED TO EMBASSY OFFICIALS. AFTER DEMONSTRATION, DELEGATION CALLED ON GENERAL GOWON TO PRESENT LETTER OF SUPPORT FROM WORKERS. PILOT HAS SIGNED ARTICLE CONTAINING USUAL DENUNCIATIONS OF DE GAULLE AND FRENCH POLICY

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 12673 161710Z

AND CALLING ON DE GAULLE TO RECOGNIZE FACTS AND URGE REBELS TO SURRENDER NOW THAT THEY HAVE LOST THE WAR. (PILOT) ALSO REPORTS ANTI-FRENCH DEMONSTRATION IN MINNA IN NORTH WESTERN STATE QTE OVER WEEKEND. UNQTE

5. OBSERVERS: SUNDAY (TIMES AND POST) REPORT ARRIVAL SEPT 14 OF SWEDISH OBSERVER GENERAL RAAB. MONDAY (PILOT) REPORTS STATEMENT ISSUED BY POLISH EMBASSY SEPT 15 THAT POLAND ACCEPTS INVITATION TO SEND OBSERVER AND IS NOW LOOKING FOR QTE APPROPRIATE CANDIDATE UNQTE WHOSE NAME WILL SOON BE ANNOUNCED. STATES THAT SWEDISH AND BRITISH OBSERVERS ALREADY IN LAGOS AND UN, OAU AND CANADIAN OBSERVERS STILL AWAITED.

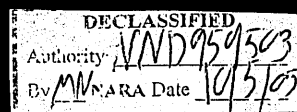
6. SECRETARY GENERAL WLRC: (SKETCH AND POST) REPORT ARRIVAL IN LAGOS OF HENRY BEER, SECRETARY GENERAL OF WORLD LEAGUE OF RED CROSS SOCIETIES. REPORTS BEER WILL REMAIN ABOUT TWO WEEKS TO DISCUSS RELIEF QUESTIONS WITH NIGERIAN RED CROSS, ICRC. QUOTES BEER AS STATING NIGERIAN RED CROSS QTE ONE OF THE BEST UNQTE AND REGRETTING RECENT QTE CONFLICT UNQTE BETWEEN ICRC AND FMG OVER TRANSPORTATION OF RELIEF SUPPLIES.

7. REINTEGRATION OF IBOS: (SKETCH AND TIMES) REPORT STATEMENT BY N.B. GRAHAM DOUGLAS, WHO WAS ATTORNEY GENERAL OF FORMER EASTERN REGION, THAT MANY IBOS READY AND WILLING TO BE REINTEGRATED INTO UNITED NIGERIA. SUNDAY (POST) HAS SIGNED ARTICLE PRAISING FMG MOVE TO ALLOW EXCHANGE OF LIMITED AMOUNTS OF BIAFRAN CURRENCY FOR NEW NIGERIAN CURRENCY. SUGGESTS THAT FMG SHOULD SET UP A QTE LIBERAL LOAN FUND UNQTE FOR IBOS AND OTHERS WHO HAVE BEEN RUINED BY WAR. ALSO PRAISES MOVE IN SOME OF THE STATES, ESPECIALLY THE NORTHERN ONES, TO SET UP COMMISSIONS TO WATCH OVER AND COLLECT RENTS FOR ABSENT IBO PROPERTY OWNERS.

MATHEWS

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*Pol 27 Biafra-Nigeria*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
*XR REF 3*

43

CONFIDENTIAL 694

PAGE 01 USUN N 06521 170051Z

89

ACTION: IO 15

INFO AF 10, EUR 15, RSR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, SR 01, ORM 03,

AID 28, /145 W

R 162320Z SEP 68  
FM USMISSION USUN NY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3180  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 6521

BRUSSELS AND PARIS FOR BALL AND SI SCO

NIGERIA

BENDER (UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES) TOLD MISOFF  
THAT SYG REP TO NIGERIA, GUSSING, WAS IN NEW YORK PRESUMABLY  
FOR "CONSULTATIONS" AND WOULD BE RETURNING LAGOS SEPT. 17.  
BENDER SAID HE UNDERSTOOD GUSSING'S MANDATE AS SPECIAL REP  
HAS BEEN EXTENDED FOR TWO MONTHS.

COMMENT: PRESUMABLY GUSSING'S PRESENCE IN NEW YORK IS TO FIND  
OUT EXACTLY WHAT HIS MANDATE IS WHILE SERVING ON OBSERVER  
TEAM INVITED BY FMG. BENDER  
AD ORIGINALLY SAID GUSSING  
HAD NO IDEA WHAT HIS MANDATE WAS IN NIGERIA. IT WOULD APPEAR  
SECRETARIAT KEEPING INFORMATION RE GUSSING PRESENCE IN NY  
VERY CLOSELY SINCE AT NOON BRIEFING UN SPOKESMAN DID NOT  
MENTION IT.

GP-4.

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MWA NARA Date: 10/5/05

47  
USUN 6521  
9/16/68



*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 USUN N 06521 170051Z

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/03



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Initials: *9/10/68*

# AIRGRAM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Original to be Filed in \_\_\_\_\_ Decentralized Files.

FILE DESIGNATION

CONFIDENTIAL

A-340

HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State  
 Dept : ACCRA, DAR ES SALAAM, LAGOS, LONDON, NAIROBI  
 Pass : *SEP 15 1 38 PM 1968*

FROM : Amembassy KAMPALA

DATE: September 14, 1968

SUBJECT : Yal ADU Comments on Kampala Nigerian Peace Talks

REF : Kampala A-331, August 30, 1968

Yal ADU, Deputy Secretary General of the Commonwealth Secretariat commented briefly on the Kampala Talks to the reporting officer. Mr. Adu is back here in connection with the Commonwealth Medical Conference now being held in Kampala.

He said he felt the talks in Kampala had been as successful as "realism would have permitted". He himself had not expected dramatic results from these talks which he and the Secretariat had considered to be largely exploratory. He expressed his strong feelings that the Biafran delegation had been so legalistic, so committed to "judicial principle" that they were unwilling to consider any political compromise. Adu noted that he had been in hourly contact with Sir Louis MBANEFO whom he had known intimately since their Cambridge days in 1936. He had stressed to Sir Louis the need for continuing talks on a person to person basis and had said over and over that ENAHORO had been willing to continue. Sir Louis remained obdurate until the end; the reporter commented on the almost suicidal atmosphere of the Biafrans last press conference and Adu said this atmosphere obtained throughout all his meetings with Mbanefo. It was obvious that Adu was deeply upset that the Biafrans had been so unrealistic.

Adu also had some very caustic remarks on Ibos who remain out of their territory, proclaiming loudly their devotion to the cause. It was observed that the Ibo community in Kampala had been, and continues to be, very active in rallying public support for the homeland. He said they were not really helping their people and if they were so patriotic, they should go home and fight.

FORM 10-64 DS-323

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Drafted by: POL:BBN Date: 9/10/68

Drafting Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Phone No.: \_\_\_\_\_

Content and Classification Approved by: DCM:EURichey

Clearances:

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 Authority: VND 954503  
 By: MWA Date: 10/5/05

Kampala A- 340  
2

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We were also gratified to note the praise Adu had for OBOTE, ODAKA and the GOU, not only for their act of hosting the talks but also for the highly constructive role they played once it became clear there was an opportunity for Ugandan direct involvement.

Further connected to the Nigerian peace talks is an announcement by the Uganda police that the body recovered on June 7 from a swamp near Kampala is unquestionably that of the late Mr. Johnson BANJO. Arrangements are being made to hand over to the Nigerian High Commission here the remains for onward transmission to Lagos.

STEBBINS

*EM*

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0779

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/03

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

238760

14 SEP 68 16 43

Origin  
Info:

ACTION: USMission NEW YORK  
INFO : Amembassy ADDIS ABABA  
" LAGOS  
" LIBREVILLE  
" LISBON  
" LONDON  
" OTTAWA  
USMission GENEVA

Subj: ~~Vxxx~~ Visas for Biafrans

Ref: USUN 6489

1. Department concurs fully in line Misoff took with Dr. Otue, Biafran QTE representative in UN UNQTE. Since we do not recognize Biafra we do not grant visas to Biafran QTE officials UNQTE. Otue should understand our non-involvement in substance Biafra-FMG and dispute does not affect our continued recognition of FMG and non-recognition rebel regime.
2. Biafran who wants to visit US may of course apply for visa in his capacity as private citizen, so long as he holds valid travel document, as Otue himself did. (Otue might also be reminded this how other prominent Biafrans have visited US, e.g. Sir Louis Mbanefo, Sir Francis Ibiam, and K.O. Mbadiwe.) We obviously cannot say in advance of visa application whether individual applicant will get visa, since in accordance with law number of factors must be taken into account. Otue should be aware that stated purpose of trip to US one of factors determining eligibility for and type of visa. If Biafran officials seek visas

Drafted by: 9/13/68 David H. Popper  
IO/UNP;EEB:eggs/AF:AFW:RPSmith:ba 7042 telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: IO - ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Clearances:  
AF-Amb. Moore  
AF/NTF-Mr. Melbourne  
SCA/VO-Mr. GOWEN (draft)  
SCA-FSmith (draft)  
IO/EX-Mr. Toussaint (draft)  
IO/UNP-Mr. Gleysteen (draft)  
SCA-Miss Watson (sub)  
L/UNA - Mr. Small

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FORM DS-322  
8-65

0780

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Authority: VND 954503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/00

Page 2 of telegram to USUN ADDIS; ~~KABER~~ LAGOS LIBREVILLE LISBON LONDON OTTAWA & GENEVA

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[specifically to petition UN as officials of Biafra without having been invited by UN, there is no appropriate visa category for them. Where Biafrans apply for visas is up to them.]

3. As Otue well knows, number of informal conversations between USG officials and Biafran representatives, including Biafran QTE Extaff Minister UNQTE Mbu, have taken place during past year, both here and in London. Re keeping open lines of communication, Mission may again reassure Otue re our willingness continue informal contacts. Dept regards Misoff contacts with Otue as clear indication that USG remains willing QTE listen to Biafran side of question UNQTE.

4. FYI. If Otue specifically asks about being received in Washington, Misoff may offer arrange informal meeting between Otue and appropriate Deptoff outside Department as has been done in past. End FYI.

End

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FORM DS-322A  
8-63  
CONTINUATION SHEET

0781

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

44



POL 3 DAY  
XR POL 7 ZAMBIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
XR POL 27 BIAFRA-

CONFIDENTIAL 408

NIGERIA

PAGE 01 ALGIER 02228 141947Z

81  
ACTION AF 16

INFO IO 13, EUR 15, SAH 02, CIAE 00, DDDE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03

NSAE 00, NSC 14, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, RSR 01, SA 01

/118 W

P R 141910Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3513  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L ALGIERS 2228

SUBJECT: KAUNDA AND SUMMIT

1. ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAS BEEN PROMINENT SINCE LAST EVENING (SEPT 13) IN CONNECTION WITH NIGERIAN QUESTION. WHEN IT WAS PROPOSED THAT HE SERVE AS ONE OF VICE PRESIDENTS OF ASSEMBLY, HE DECLINED SAYING HE TOOK OFFENSE AT REMARKS BY SEVERAL OF PREVIOUS SPEAKERS (INCLUDING BOUMEDIENE, U THANT, MODIBU KEITA AND MOBUTU) WHO IN KAUNDA'S VIEW IMPLIED ZAMBIA AMONG IMPERIALISTS WHO HAD HELPED PERPETRATE NIGERIA-BIAFRA AFFAIR.

2. TODAY JOURNALISTS HAVE BEEN SPECULATING THAT KAUNDA AND POSSIBLY BOURGUIBA JR. MIGHT INITIATE DEBATE ON THIS ISSUE AT SUMMIT ASSEMBLY.

3. THIS EVENING IT IS REPORTED THAT KAUNDA PLANS DEPART ALGIERS SUNDAY SEPT 15 FOR PARIS IN ORDER CONSULT WITH DE GAULLE.

HOFFACKER

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Algeria 2228  
9-14-68

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Authority: VNP 959503  
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05

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POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA  
237966

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
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13 SEP 68 20 10  
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Origin: ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS  
INFO: ~~Amembassy LIBREVILLE~~  
Info: ~~Amembassy LIBREVILLE~~  
LIBREVILLE  
LONDON  
PARIS  
TEL AVIV  
US MISSION GENEVA  
USUN  
CINCSTRIKE  
Amconsul IBADAN  
KADUNA

SUBJECT: Nigeria Press Summary - September 13

1. No summaries done for Sept 11 and 12.
2. AP and UPI tickers report morning Sept. 13 from Geneva ICRC announcement it has suspended flights to Biafra because a usable airstrip no longer available. Red Cross sources said airstrip at Uli Ihiala was bombed and damaged by Nigerians and airstrip at Obi-Uturu can no longer be used because of rapid approach of Nigerian forces.
3. Times carries Friendly Jr. piece Lagos headed Americans set up Nigerian airlift - will fly helicopters under UNICEF contract. An advertising salesman for New Yorker magazine, a financial analyst for division of General Dynamics, a United Airlines pilot, the sales manager of Connecticut airport parts supplier and an upstate New York mechanic, who built own helicopter at age of 16, have come Nigeria operate first helicopter airlift relief supplies to war victims. Shepard Spink, 27, with New Yorker, decided watching TV program on starving children Nigeria/Biafra

RECEIVED BY RSC

9

Drafted by: AF/P:RLPerkins:mb 9/13/68  
Tel. Ext. 2105  
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Nigerian Task Force-Mr. Melbourne

FORM 8-65 DS-322

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0783

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Authority: VND 954503  
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05

Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

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Classification

in his Westport home to do something about it, took ~~222~~ 90-day leave from job. Robert C. Robards, who runs helicopter charter company Dansville, N.Y. and who put together team of Americans to fly two S-55 helicopters under UNICEF charter, felt same. Put his proposal to State Dept and various church groups, had it accepted by UNICEF Aug 10. By Aug 31 he had two helicopters in Lagos, arriving on converted C-97 of type normally chartered fly Saturn rocket sections. Helicopters will fly first runs out of Calabar, thousands tons food built up there but only trickle has been reaching 250,000 refugees estimated in humid mangrove swamps and forests of Cross River delta. For start Robards will have copters fly 35-mile radius from Calabar to such hard-hit towns as Itu and Uyo and to isolated refugee settlements. If his optimism borne out he hopes extend present 30-day ~~462~~ \$60,000 contract to 90 days and says he can rapidly expand fleet to 20 helicopters. Another in group is pilot John McLaughlin, 39, of Thompsonville, Connecticut.

4. Times carries story on Abie J. Nathan, Israeli QTE peace pilot UNQTE who in New York, leaving Biafra last week. Nathan became involved Biafra this summer just after finishing 40-day jail sentence for second flight to Port Said 14 months ago. In July met old pilot friend in Lisbon, hitched ride to Biafra. Shocked by what he saw he returned Israel, organized drive that raised more than \$50,000. In August returned Biafra with 18 tons soya bean concentrate. Tel Aviv restaurant owner now has plan take 30 tons food, medicine to Biafra. Hopes persuade airline donate Boeing jet to fly New York-Sao Tome. Hopes load plane with food donated by private industry and US charitable orgs. From

0784

Page 3 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

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Sao Tome other planes would ferry into Biafra by night. Finally, plan envisions evacuating 50 to 100 Biafran children ill with protein malnutrition. Hoped have American relief ready by September 18. QTE IF I can't get it all free and need money, I can get funds from abroad UNQTE. Would then return to Tel Aviv.

5. Times carries ad for protest rally against genocide Sept 14, Dag Hammarskjold Plaza at 3:30, 47th and 2nd Ave., films, speakers, personalities, by American Committee Keep Biafra Alive, 2440 Broadway, with picture seven skeletal children.

END

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FORM DS-322A  
8-63  
CONTINUATION SHEET

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Classification

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Authority: VMD 954503  
By: MWA Date: 10/3/05



ACTION			DEPARTMENT OF STATE		PL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA FOR RM USE ONLY	
<b>AIRGRAM</b>			<b>CONFIDENTIAL</b>		RECEIVED DEPARTMENT OF STATE	
RM/R	REP	AF	NO.		HANDLING INDICATOR	
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ARA	EUR	FE	TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHDC Pass INR/CS/BR		NEH Finke	
NEA	CU	INR	DEPT PLEASE PASS: DOUALA, LAGOS, YAOUNDE (3)		RS/AN ANALYSIS BRANCH	
E	P	IO	INR/CS/BR info noted RM/R File. <i>24 Sep 68</i>		DATE: 13 September 1968	
L	FBO	AIO	FROM : AmEmbassy YAOUNDE		SUBJECT: West Cameroonian Intellectual's Views on Nigerian Conflict	
6/12/68	5/12/68	5/15/68	REF :		Dr. Bernard FONLON, currently Minister of Transportation, Posts, and Telecommunications, is one of Cameroon's leading intellectuals. A native of English-speaking West Cameroon, he resided in Onitscha and Enugu for years during the period when British Cameroons was administered as part of Nigeria. Along with his ministerial responsibilities (he was Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1964 to January 15, 1968, when he was named to his present post), Dr. Fonlon has found time to publish <u>Abbia</u> , a high-quality cultural review of which he is the founder and director.	
AGR	COM	FRB	The following are paraphrased comments by Dr. Fonlon on the Nigerian conflict, made at my home on September 12, 1968:		Nigeria is my home. I grew up there, my closest friends are there, I know the country better than I know Cameroon. What is happening in Biafra is intolerable and must be stopped, somehow. But now I don't know how. It is genocide, you know. It is so bad that if Ojukwu tried to surrender the Ibos would kill him; that's how desperate they are.	
INT	LAB	TAR	The origins of the war go back to the corruption that existed before the first coup. The corruption was so bad that some young men, after they came back from their studies, went into the army with the express intent of using the army to overthrow the corrupt government.		But after that, the Ibos, in their unbearable arrogance, paraded themselves as the new rulers of Nigeria, and so aggravated everyone that bloodshed was bound to follow. But the betrayals since then, and the massacres, have so far exceeded what would have been just,	
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ARMY	CIA	NAVY	Drafted by: AmbRE Payton/P. D. Anderson/cd 9/13/68		Contents and Classification Approved by: Ambassador R.L. Payton	
OSD	USIA	NSA	Clearances:		DECLASSIFIED Authority: VND 954503 By: MNA Date: 10/5/05	
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Page 2 of A-254 from  
Yaounde

that one can only believe that the northerners want to exterminate the Ibos. And that can't happen. I was there at Onitsha, in 1942, when the first two law graduates came out, and the first doctor, and I've seen what those people have done with their work since then, and it can't be just destroyed out of hand.

There are other culprits: the person who advised Gowon not to accept confederation, to provide a period for cooling down the passions stirred by the coup and the massacres; the English, with their generous supply of arms, and the Russians, interfering. The OAU should have been strong and firm and said that this was an African problem to be solved by Africans and not simply an internal problem.

People follow men, not institutions, and Nigeria has failed to produce great leaders, great men who could set a moral example. There has been no Gandhi. If Zik, who is one of the greatest Africans of the century, had taken a vow of poverty....As it was, he came back to Africa an African (he even settled first in Ghana and started a newspaper), and then a Nigerian (although an Ibo he was elected by the Yorubas in Lagos), and then an Easterner (after his defeat in Lagos he went back east, forced the resignation of the government, and got himself elected prime minister), and now he is only an Ibo, speaking only for Iboland.

It is not clear what Dr. Fonlon concludes from all this, but he is as outspoken in his sympathy for Biafra, and as blunt in his recognition of Ibo arrogance and aggressiveness, as ever. He also sees the Muslims as a powerful force of reaction.

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67  
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TELEGRAM

Po/3 OAU  
Po/27 Biafra - Nigeria

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PAGE 01 KINSHA 11574 140120Z

88  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04,

SCA 02, AID 28, SAH 02, RER 01, 157 W

R 131530Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9033  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

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SUBJECT: CONGO (B): BIAFRAN QUESTION AT OAU

1. BRAZZAVILLE RADIO FRIDAY DEVOTED MAJOR PART OF ITS NEWS COVERAGE TO BIAFRAN SUCCESSION. IT REPORTED THAT SEVEN OAU MEMBER STATES ARE TRYING TO RAISE QUESTION AT SUMMIT CONFERENCE AND COMMENTED THAT SUPPORT FOR BIAFRA WAS GROWING AMONG AFRICAN STATES. QUOTED A BIAFRAN LEADER IN ALGIERS TO EFFECT THAT MILITARY DEFEAT WILL NOT DETER BIAFRANS IN THEIR EFFORTS ESTABLISH INDEPENDENT NATION DESPITE OCCUPATION BY FMG FORCES. THEN NOTED GROWING FRENCH INTEREST IN FATE OF STARVING BIAFRANS, INCLUDING RESUME OF RECENT FRENCH TV PRODUCTION SHOWING GENUINE HUMAN MISERY RESULTING FROM QTE DIRTY WAR. QTE ENDED WITH FAVORABLE COVERAGE OF EFFORTS FRENCH RED CROSS TO EVACUATE STARVING AND WOUNDED BIAFRAN CHILDREN TO LIBREVILLE.

2. COMMENT: BEFORE THE RECENT POLITICAL UPHEAVAL IN CONGO (B) WHICH PRODUCED MASSAMBA-DEBAT'S FALL FROM POWER, THE THEN INFOMIN ANDRE HOMBESSA WAS THE PERSON MOST PUBLICLY IN SYMPATHY WITH THE BIAFRAN CAUSE. HOWEVER, IN VIEW FAIF HOMBESSA NOW IN JAIL, TOUY'S BROADCAST IS FIRST FIRM INDICATION THAT NEW NGOUA? RATML REGIME CONTINUES IF NOT AMPLIFIES THIS SENTIMENT. BROADCAST

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POL BIAFRA-US  
XR POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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CONFIDENTIAL 612

PAGE 01 LONDON 12615 131733Z

52

ACTION IO 15

INFO EUR 15, AF 10, VO 02, SCA 02, SY 03, CPR 02, INR 07, CIAE 00, NSA 02,

FBI 01, P 04, USIA 12, L 03, RSR 01, SSO 00, /079 W

R 131653Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6028  
INFO USUN NEW YORK 1407  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

CONFIDENTIAL LONDON 12615

REF: USUN 6489 — *POL BIAFRA-US*  
*XR POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA*

1. EMBASSY HAS JUST RECEIVED APPLICATION FROM VINCENT OKECHUKWU OKORO, ATTORNEY, FOR VISITORS VISA TO VISIT WIFE IN U.S. OKORO PRESENTED NIGERIAN PASSPORT NO. 40659 WHICH ACCORDING TO DEPT. CA-4300 DECLARED INVALID BY NIGERIAN GOVT.

2. OKORO INFORMED HIS PASSPORT NOT VALID AND IN ABSENCE VALID TRAVEL DOCUMENT EMBASSY COULD NOT GIVE CONSIDERATION HIS VISA APPLICATION.

3. ALTHOUGH OKORO NOT QUESTIONED CLOSELY ON PURPOSE HIS TRIP AS IT UNDERSTOOD HE FAIRLY PROMINENT BIAFRAN AND FORMER NIGERIAN DIPLOMAT IT BELIEVED POSSIBLE HE MAY BE ONE OF BIAFRANS SEEKING TO ENTER U.S. TO SUBMIT PETITION TO U.N.  
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**Department of State TELEGRAM**

47

CONFIDENTIAL 814

PAGE 01 LONDON 12617 131932Z

84  
ACTION EUR 20

INFO AF 10, IO 13, VO 02, CPR 02, SY 03, SCA 02, INR 07, CIAE 00, NSA 02,  
FBI 01, P 04, USIA 12, SS 25, SP 02, L 03, H 02, NSC 10, RSR 01, 121 W

R 131730Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6030  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USUN NY 1408

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*9-13-68*

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SUBJ: BIAFRAN TRAVEL TO UK

*POL Biafra-US*

*XR POL 27 Biafra-Nigeria*

REF: USUN 6489

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1. COMMONWEALTH OFFICES MOBERLY (ACT HEAD WEST AND GENERAL AFRICAN DEPT) CONFIRMS THAT BIAFRAN REPS ARE BEING ADMITTED FREELY TO UK. AS CITIZENS OF COMMONWEALTH (E.E. NIGERIANS), ITINERANT IBOS DO NOT REQUIRE VISAS AND UK HAS CHOSEN TO IGNORE INVALIDATION OF PASSPORTS BY LAGOS AS LONG AS TRAVELLERS COULD FULFILL NORMAL REQUIREMENTS FOR VISITORS ENTERING UK. BRITISH HAVE ADOPTED THIS ATTITUDE IN PART BECAUSE SO MUCH TRAVELLING BY BIAFRAN REPS HAS BEEN IN CONNECTION WITH BRITISH AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT NEGOTIATION SETTLEMENT AND BRITISH SAW NO ADVANTAGE IN BEING STICKY WITH THEM. MOBERLY SAID FMG HAD ACCEPTED THIS PRACTICE WITHOUT SUSTAINED PROTEST.

2. ACCORDING TO MOBERLY, NO BIAFRAN DELEGATION HAS BEEN RECEIVED BY PRIMIN WILSON. HIGHEST BRITISH OFFICIAL TO RECEIVE BIAFRAN REPS HAS BEEN CO MINOFSTATE LORD SHEPHERD WHO HAD CONTACTS IN JUNE WITH MBANEFO AND KOGBARA (LONDONS 97561).  
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POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
XR POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

CONFIDENTIAL 999

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01746 140939Z

17  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, ID 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SAH 02, SR 01, ORM 03,

AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 02, RSR 01, /157 W

R 131325Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1947  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS 514  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL LIBREVILLE 1746

REF: LIBREVILLE 1741 - POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SUBJ: BIAFRAN AIRLIFT

1. THIRTY-THREE BIAFRAN CHILDREN ARRIVED LIBREVILLE  
LAST NIGHT SEPT 12 ON DCAE TR-LML. ALL CHILDREN AMBU-  
LATORY BUT SHOWED CLEAR SYMPTOMS OF KWASHIORK. FRENCH  
RED CROSS DOCTOR PENNIC, WHO WAS IN BIAFRA AND ACCOMPANIED  
CHILDREN ON FLIGHT, SAID THEIR CONDITION SURPRISINGLY GOOD.  
CHILDREN CURRENTLY BEING HOUSED AND CARED FOR IN OLD UNUSED  
CATHOLIC CHURCH. PRIEST WAS ABLE HAVE 250 SIMPLE BEDS  
MADE FROM WELDED PIPE IN 4-DAY PERIOD.

2. CONSTELLATION F-BRAD AND TRANSUNION F-BOEX ALSO MADE  
FLIGHT BUT RETURNED EMPTY. APPARENTLY THERE CONSIDERABLE  
DISORDER AT BIAFRAN END.

3. DR. PENNIC AND PILOT OF TR-LML STATE ONLY ONE USABLE  
AIRSTRIIP LEFT IN BIAFRA AND WOULD APPEAR CONFLICT VERY NEAR  
END. IN CONTRAST IS COMMENT BY TRANSABON DIRECTOR COLLET,

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67  
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Q Po/27 Biafra - Nigeria  
TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 KINSHA 11574 140120Z

88  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,  
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04,  
SCA 02, AID 28, SAH 02, RSR 01, /157 W

R 131530Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9033  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
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SUBJECT: CONGO (B): BIAFRAN QUESTION AT OAU

1. BRAZZAVILLE RADIO FRIDAY DEVOTED MAJOR PART OF ITS NEWS COVERAGE TO BIAFRAN SUCCESSION. IT REPORTED THAT SEVEN OAU MEMBER STATES ARE TRYING TO RAISE QUESTION AT SUMMIT CONFERENCE AND COMMENTED THAT SUPPORT FOR BIAFRA WAS GROWING AMONG AFRICAN STATES. QUOTED A BIAFRAN LEADER IN ALGIERS TO EFFECT THAT MILITARY DEFEAT WILL NOT DETER BIAFRANS IN THEIR EFFORTS ESTABLISH INDEPENDENT NATION DESPITE OCCUPATION BY FMG FORCES. THEN NOTED GROWING FRENCH INTEREST IN FATE OF STARVING BIAFRANS, INCLUDING RESUME OF RECENT FRENCH TV PRODUCTION SHOWING GENUINE HUMAN MISERY RESULTING FROM QTE DIRTY WAR. END QTE. ENDED WITH FAVORABLE COVERAGE OF EFFORTS FRENCH RED CROSS TO EVACUATE STARVING AND WOUNDED BIAFRAN CHILDREN TO LIBREVILLE.

2. COMMENT: BEFORE THE RECENT POLITICAL UPHEAVAL IN CONGO (B) WHICH PRODUCED MASSAMBA-DEBAT'S FALL FROM POWER, THE THEN INFOIN ANDRE HOMBESSA WAS THE PERSON MOST PUBLICLY IN SYMPATHY WITH THE BIAFRAN CAUSE. HOWEVER, IN VIEW FAIF HOMBESSA NOW IN JAIL, TOUY'S BROADCAST IS FIRST FIRM INDICATION THAT NEW NGOUA?? RATML REGIME CONTINUES IF NOT AMPLIFIES THIS SENTIMENT. BROADCAST

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PAGE 01 OTTAWA 02352 132215Z

91-82  
ACTION EUR 20

INFO IO 13, AF 10, ACDA 16, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,  
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SA 01, SAH 02,  
SAL 01, SCSE 00, SCA 02, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, RSR 01, 168 W

P R 132145Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3709  
INFO USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION USUN

UNCLAS OTTAWA 2352

SUBJECT: BIAFRA

1. AT OUTSET QUESTION PERIOD ON ORDERS OF DAY DURING FIRST WORKING SESSION 28TH COMMONS, OPPOSITION LEADER STANFIELD PRESSED GOVERNMENT ON BIAFRA. PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU ASKED EXTAFF MINISTER SHARP TO REPLY AND DURING DISCUSSION SHARP MADE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. BEST INSTRUMENT TO HELP IN ARRANGEMENT SHIPMENT RELIEF SUPPLIES TO BIAFRA QTE IS AN INTERNATIONAL AGENCY SUCH AS INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS UNQTE;

B. IN RESPONSE TO QUERY AS TO WHETHER SET STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN THROUGH UN TO BRING PRESSURE ON UK, USSR AND OTHER ARMS-SUPPLYING NATIONS TO COMBATANTS IN NIGERIA AND TO PRESS THROUGH UN TO PERMIT SUPPLY RELIEF GOODS THROUGH INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES OR UN, SHARP SAID CANADIAN GOVERNMENT QTE IS AS ACTIVE IN THIS CONNECTION AS IS ANY OTHER GOVERNMENT IN THE WORLD UNQTE, BUT THAT QTE THE QUESTION HAS BEEN REFERRED TO THE ORGANIZATION FOR AFRICAN UNITY AND THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA HAVE AN EVEN GREATER INTEREST THAN HAVE THE PEOPLE IN ANY OTHER PART OF THE WORLD IN BRINGING THIS CONFLICT TO AN END. WE BELIEVE THAT IF EFFORTS ARE TO BE MADE TO BRING THIS MATTER

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*Ottawa 2352  
9/13/68*

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By: MNA Date: 10/5/05





*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02. OTTAWA 02352 132215Z

BEFORE THE UN ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN, AT THIS TIME AT LEAST, BY THOSE WHO ARE SEIZED WITH THE PROBLEM IMMEDIATELY, THAT IS TO SAY, THE AFRICAN STATES THEMSELVES UNQTE.

C% COMMENTING ON INVITATION FROM GON TO SEND OBSERVERS TO BATTLE AREAS, SHARP REITERATED STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER IN PRESS CONFERENCE YESTERDAY THAT GOC HAS QTE VERY SERIOUS MISGIVINGS ABOUT THIS PROPOSAL UNQTE AND QTE WANTS TO BE SURE THE OBSERVER CAN HAVE FREEDOM OF ACCESS UNQTE. HOWEVER, IN VIEW OF ACCEPTANCES GON HAS NOW RECEIVED FROM SWEDEN, BRITAIN AND UN AND QTE NOT WITHSTANDING OUR MISGIVINGS WE FEEL THAT IF THERE IS GOING TO BE AN INTERNATIONAL TEAM OF THIS KIND WE SHOULD PARTICIPATE UNQTE. GOC CONSEQUENTLY HAD DECIDED IN PRINCIPLE SEND AS OBSERVER MAJOR GENERAL W. A. MILROY, CURRENTLY COMMANDANT OF CANADIAN LAND FORCES COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE AT KINGSTON, ONTARIO.

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Date	10/5/05



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**TELEGRAM**  
451

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 818

PAGE 01 PARIS 20839 131931Z

91  
ACTION: EUR 20

INFO: AF 10, IO 13, SA 01, AID 28, SAH 02, MC 01, ACDA 16, E 15, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25,

USIA 12, NSA 02, RSR 01, /179 W

R 131825Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6035  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

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SUBJ: PUBLICITY FOR BIAFRA

1. FRENCH PRESS AND RADIO/TV ARE CONTINUING INTENSIVE PRO-BIAFRA COVERAGE OF NIGERIAN CONFLICT IN AFTERMATH DEGAULLE PRESS CONFERENCE. LEMONDE DATED SEPTEMBER 13 HAS LONG ARTICLE BY DECRAENE SAYING FRENCH INTEND INCREASE HUMANITARIAN AND DIPLOMATIC AID TO BIAFRA BUT NOT GOING INTO QUESTION OF ARMS. (DECRAENE TOLD EMBOFF EVENING SEPT 12 HE PRACTICING SELF-CENSORSHIP). FIGARO SEPT 12 NOTED TEAM OF EIGHT FRENCH DOCTORS AND MEDICAL TECHNICIANS ALREADY IN BIAFRA AND SECOND GROUP OF TWENTY FIVE DUE TO LEAVE FRANCE SOON. TOTAL FRENCH RELIEF AID TO DATE IS ABOUT THREE MILLION DOLLARS, JUDGING FROM QUAI AND PRESS SOURCES, OF WHICH ABOUT THIRTY THOUSAND DOLLARS SUPPLIED BY FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

2. SATIRICAL WEEKLY CANARD ENCHAINE, WHICH BASICALLY PRO-BIAFRAN, NEVERTHELESS TOOK CRACK AT FRENCH GOVT IN SEPT 11 EDITION FOR DELIVERING ARMS TO BOTH SIDES. ARTICLE REFERS TO FRENCH ARMS CAPTURED BY FMG AT ABA AND ASKS WHEN WERE THEY DELIVERED TO BIAFRA QUOTE BY FRENCH AUTHORITIES, WITH AGREEMENT OF GABONESE GOVT, WHICH IS EXTENSION OF INTELLIGENCE SERVICES (SERVICES BAR-BOUZO-COMMUNAUTAIRES) OF FOCCART AT ELYSEE UNQUOTE. IT NOTES THAT CAPTURE THESE ARMS NOT REPORTED BY NORMALLY

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PAGE 02 PARIS 20839 131931Z

ATTENTIVE FRENCH TV WHICH MUST EXPLAIN WHY DEGAULLE DID NOT REFER TO THEM. CANARD GOES ON TO REPORT THAT QUOTE LAST SPRING UNQUOTE FRENCH GOVT SOLD QUOTE EIGHTY TONS OF SHELLS FOR 90MM CANNONS UNQUOTE TO FMG AND DELIVERED THEM BY AIR. IT SPECULATES WHETHER THIS WAS DONE WITH OR WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE OF DEGAULLE, FOCCART AND MINDEF MESSMER.

3. MOST POWERFUL PRO-BIAFRA PUBLICITY WAS TV DOCUMENTARY AND PANEL DISCUSSION NIGHT OF SEPT 12 WHICH LASTED ALMOST TWO HOURS. LONG FOOTAGE OF VISIT TO BIAFRA TWO WEEKS AGO BY IMPRESSIVE FRENCH LADY DOCTOR ON BEHALF FRENCH RED CROSS WAS VERY MOVING. IT CMNCENTRATED ON SCENES IN HOSPITALS, REFUGEE CAMPS, MISSIONS AND BURIAL GROKDS IN AND AROUND ABA JUST BEFORE ITS CAPTURE, WAS OBVIOUSLY AUTHENTIC, AND COULD NOT HAVE FAILED TO GENERATE STILL MORE PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR BIAFRA AND IMMEDIATE END TO WAR. COMMENTATOR OF ENTIRE FILM WAS WELL KNOWN PRO-BIAFRA JOURNALIST JEAN FRANCOIS CHAUVEL WHO HAS BEEN TO BIAFRA SIX TIMES DURING PAST YEAR. PARTICIPATING IN PANEL DISCUSSION WAS LOCAL BIAFRA REP UWECHUE WHO WAS QUITE CONVINCING. NIGERIAN EMBASSY REPORTEDLY REFUSED TO PARTICIPATE. CONCLUSION OF PANELISTS (WHO ALSO INCLUDED MISSIONARIES, REPORTERS, AND OTHER JOURNALISTS) WAS THAT ONLY "GREAT POWERS" COULD STOP FIGHTING SINCE PROBLEM OF SECESSION AND TRIBAL/ETHNIC/RELIGIOUS CONFLICT SO GREAT AS TO BLOCK ANY AFRICAN SOLUTION. USSR AND UK NATURALLY CAME OUT AS VILLAINS BUT ENGLISH JOURNALIST (HAROLD MACMILLANS GRANDSON) MENTIONED FRENCH ARMS AID TO BOTH SIDES. NOT ONCE IN ENTIRE PROGRAM WAS UNITED STATES MENTIONED. SHRIVER

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37



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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CONFIDENTIAL 654

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05676 121635Z

49  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SAH 02, AID 28, SR 01,

ORM 03, SCA 02, SCS 04, RSR 01, /157 W

R 121115Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6995  
INFO USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5676

SUBJ: NIGERIA

REF: 5668 -

1. LAST NIGHT IN MEETING WITH FONMIN KETEMA I WENT  
OVER MUCH SAME GROUND INCLUDED IN HIS TALKS WITH  
MALCOLM MACDONALD (REFTEL.) I FOUND HIM RATHER  
MORE PESSIMISTIC HOWEVER AND HE SEEMED MORE TIRED,  
WHETHER FROM NEW YEAR'S EVE AND NEW YEAR'S DAY  
FESTIVITIES OR BECAUSE HE FELT LESS NECESSITY TO DISSEMBLE.

2. HE HAS SOME SLIGHT HOPE THAT ALGIERS SUMMIT MAY  
BRING FMG TO ACCEPT SOME ARRANGEMENT ON AIR FLIGHTS  
AND THAT BIAFRA'S FRIENDS MAY BE ABLE TO APPLY ENOUGH  
PRESSURE TO GAIN AGREEMENT FOR ONE OF LAND OR WATER  
ROUTES THAT FMG HAS ACCEPTED. HE SEES NO POLITICAL  
SOLUTION POSSIBLE NOW SHORT OF CAPITULATION BY BIAFRA.  
HE COMMENTED BIAFRANS BY THEIR REJECTION OF FMG  
OFFER AT OPENING OF TALKS HAD CLOSED OFF ALL POSSIBILITY  
OF COMPROMISE. HE IS HOPEFUL MODERATION BY FMG  
TROOPS AND PROMPT PROVISION OF RELIEF WILL CONVINCE  
MANY IBOS THEY SHOULD GIVE UP STRUGGLE.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05676 121635Z

3. HE IS NOW OPPOSED TO ANY UN ACTION ON NIGERIA, ALTHOUGH HE RESERVED RIGHT TO CHANGE HIS MIND IF DEVELOPMENTS IN ALGIERS INDICATED A USEFUL ROLE FOR GA. HIS CONCERN IS THAT ANY UN ACTION WILL BE OPPOSED BY FMG WITH IMMEDIATE STRONG SUPPORT OF SOVIET BLOC. NIGERIA ALREADY RESENTS PRESSURE APPLIED BY AFRICANS, WEST EUROPEANS AND US AND IS DRIFTING TOWARD SOVIET ORBIT. IT WOULD IN HIS VIEW TAKE LITTLE MORE FOR US TO BE PRESENTED WITH A "UAR IN WEST AFRICA". THUS HE WILL URGE SCANDANAVIANS AND OTHERS WITH GOOD HUMANITARIAN INTENTIONS TO RESTRICT THEMSELVES TO RELIEF AND LEAVE POLITICAL PROBLEM TO AFRICANS. HE REALIZES THIS WILL NOT SATISFY MANY PEOPLE IN US AND WESTERN EUROPE BUT ANY OTHER COURSE WILL BE RESENTED BY MOST AFRICANS AND COULD HAVE EXTREMELY ADVERSE EFFECTS IN NIGERIA.

4. KETEMA ASKED ABOUT REPORTED STATEMENT BY FORMER VP NIXON IN SUPPORT OF BIAFRA. I SUPPLIED HIM WITH DEPT'S REPORT TO US. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT MR. NIXON DID NOT HAVE FULL ACCESS TO INFORMATION ON HIM'S EFFORTS TO DATE. I TOLD HIM I WAS CERTAIN DEPT DID OR WOULD MAKE THIS INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO MR. NIXON AND HIS STAFFWA

5. HE THANKED ME FOR SUPPORT OF OUR EMBASSIES IN HANDLING COMMUNICATIONS DURING TALKS AND AGAIN EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR RESTRAINT AND UNDERSTANDING SHOWN IN PRESIDENT'S AND SECRETARY'S STATEMENTS. HE SAID US HAD BEEN UNIFORMLY HELPFUL TO HIM IN TALKS IN CONTRAST TO BRITISH AND FRENCH WHO HAD FREQUENTLY INTERVENED UNHELPFULLY AT KEY POINTS IN NEGOTIATIONS. WHEN I ASKED HOW HE INTERPRETED DEGAULLE'S LATEST STATEMENT, HE SAID IT WAS OF NO CONSEQUENCE UNLESS FRANCE PREPARED TO INTERVENE MILITARILY. IT WOULD ENCOURAGE BIAFRANS TO HOLD OUT A LITTLE LONGER WITH RESULTANT TRAGIC DEATH OF ADDITIONAL NIGERIANS BOTH SIDES, BUT IT WOULD HAVE NO EFFECT ON FINAL OUTCOME. HE SPECULATED IT WAS INTENDED TO FUEL FRENCH CAMPAIGN FOR QUEBEC INDEPENDENCE FROM CANADA AND IMPRESS OCAM STATES WITH FRENCH POLITICAL POWER.

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ORIGIN/ACTION			DEPARTMENT OF STATE			POL 15-1 U.VOLTA		
AF-5			<b>AIRGRAM</b>			POL 27-1 COMBLOC-CZECH		
44			A-175			POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA		
NO.			CONFIDENTIAL			FOR RM USE ONLY		
TO : Department of State			RECEIVED			HANDLING INDICATOR		
FROM : Amembassy OUAGADOUGOU			SEP 20 11 29 AM 1968			ANALYSIS BRANCH		
SUBJECT : Memorandum of Conversation with President Lamizana			DATE: September 12, 1968					
REF :								
Enclosed is the memorandum of conversation which took place on Thursday, September 5, 1968 between the President of the Republic of Upper Volta, President Sangoule Lamizana and the American Ambassador to Upper Volta, Ambassador Elliott P. Skinner.								
SKINNER								
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FORM 4-62 DS-323								
Drafted by: Ambassador/nm			Contents and Classification Approved by: Ambassador					
Clearance:								

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By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05



*POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA*  
*XR POL 1 NIGERIA-USSR*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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4-1

CONFIDENTIAL 820

PAGE 01 LONDON 12573 121857Z

46

ACTION EUR 20

INFO AF 10, IO 13, AID 28, SAH 02, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NIC 01,

ACDA 16, SA 01, E 15, RSR 01, 179 W

R 121641Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6001  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABAB  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USUN NEW YORK 1404

CONFIDENTIAL LONDON 12573

SUBJ: FURTHER SOVIET VIEWS ON NIGERIAN CONFLICT

REF: LONDON'S 11536 - *POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA*  
*XR POL 1 NIGERIA-USSR*

1. COMMONWEALTH OFFICE'S MOBERLY (ACTING HEAD, WEST AND GENERAL AFRICA DEPT) TELLS US THAT SOVIET FIRST SECTY MAKAROV CAME IN TO SEE HIM FOR SECOND TIME SEPT 11. AS BEFORE (REFTEL) MAKAROV EMPHASIZED FIRM SOVIET SUPPORT FOR FMG. HE EXPRESSED GRATIFICATION THAT "WAR WAS NEARLY OVER" AND SAID THAT SINCE IT WAS CLEAR BIAFRANS WOULD NOT MAKE POLITICAL CONCESSIONS, FEDS WERE JUSTIFIED IN SEEKING OUTRIGHT MILITARY VICTORY.

2. MAKAROV CRITICIZED BIAFRANS FOR FAILURE TO COMPROMISE AND SUGGESTED THAT SOMEONE, PROBABLY FRANCE, WAS BEHIND THEM. ON SUBJECT OF OUTSIDE PRESSURES TO STOP WAR, HE DOUBTED OAU COULD DO MUCH AND WAS HOSTILE TO IDEA OF ACTION BY UN. HE

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PAGE 02 LONDON 12573 121857Z

PRAISED FMG INITIATIVE RE OBSERVERS (WHICH HE ASSUMED WAS  
INSPIRED BY BRITISH) BUT SAID HE HAD NO INFO RE POLISH  
INTENTIONS.

3. SPEAKING OF POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN NIGERIA MAKAROV SAID  
SOVIETS WOULD HELP. WHEN MOBERLY QUIZZED HIM ON THIS HE SAID  
THEY WOULD HELP BY EXPANDING TRADE WITH NIGERIA. IN FACT  
PARTY OF SOVIET OFFICIALS WOULD BE VISITING LAGOS IN OCT TO  
DISCUSS TRADE QUESTION.  
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TELEGRAM

29

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PAGE 01 IBADAN 00618 121811Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02

SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, ACDA 16, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04,

SCA 02, RSR 01, EUR 15, 171 W

R 121055Z SEP 68  
FM AMCONSUL IBADAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 640  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEASSA UNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE IBADAN 618

SUBJECT: NIGER RIVER BRIDGE

1. COL. OBASANJO, CO 2ND DIV GARRISON AND CHIEF ARMY ENGINEER, TOLD BDHC SMALLWOOD YESTERDAY (SEPT 11), THAT HIS ENGINEERING TROOPS REPAIRING NIGER RIVER BRIDGE HAD STILL NOT RECEIVED BAILEY BRIDGING MATERIALS FOR TEMPORARY SPAN. IX EXPECTED THESE LATE JULY OR EARLY AUGUST (IBADAN A-139) BUT THERE HAD BEEN ERROR IN SPECIFICATIONS. DID NOT INDICATE WHEN HE EXPECTED NEW MATERIALS.

2. OBASANJO HAD JUST RETURNED FROM VISIT TO CALABAR, PORT HARCOURT AND ASABA AREAS. HAD HIGH PRAISE FOR ARMY DISCIPLINE IN AREAS UNDER ADEKUNLE'S COMMAND BUT ASABA STILL NOT FULLY SECURE. WAS SHOT AT DURING VISIT THERE.

3. OBASANJO ALSO CONFIRMED THAT ENGINEERING TROOPS HAD BEEN AT FAULT IN AFFRAY WITH POLICE NEAR EDE (IBADAN 596). SAID HE HAD GIVEN SOLDIERS INVOLVED 26 LASHES EACH AND TOLD MAJOR HE WAS LUCKY TO BE ALIVE. STRONG

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12594 122116Z

83  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04

SCA 02, E 15, DOT 10, RSR 01, 180 W

R 121203Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2527  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
BT  
UNCLAS LAGOS 12594

SUBJ NIGERIAN PRESS ROUND-UP SEPTEMBER 12

1. ASSURANCES TO IBOS: TIMES, TRIBUNE AND PILOT FEATURE STORIES ON OKUNNU AIRPORT STATEMENT OF ASSURANCES TO IBOS THAT AFTER END OF SECESSION AND CIVIL WAR THEY WILL BE REINTEGRATED FULLY INTO NIGERIAN SOCIETY. (LAGOS 12551 AND 12558 REPORT STATEMENTS.) TIMES AND POST ALSO REPORT STATEMENTS OF ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE FMG ADDIS DELEGATION ALISON AYIDA. REPORTEDLY, AYIDA SAID ORDINARY IVO WOULD HAVE NO DIFFICULTY IN REINTEGRATING INTO REUNITED NIGERIA, BUT IBO ELITE MIGHT FIND IT DIFFICULT QTE BECAUSE THEY WILL NOT FEEL SECURE...BUT THERE IS A BRIDGE FOR THEM TO CROSS AND THAT IS GENERAL FEDERAL GOOD WILL AND PRESENCE OF IBOS HERE IN LAGOS. UNQTE AYIDA ALSO REPORTEDLY SAID THAT AS SOON AS ONE IBO FROM BIAFRA RETURNED TO LAGOS HE WOULD BE ABLE TO GO HOME AND CONVINCE

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 12594 122116Z

OTHERS NIGERIA WAS NOT COMMITTING GENOCIDE. HE ALSO PREDICTED THAT AS SOON AS VMUAHIA WAS CAPTURED AND REBEL RADIO SILENCED IBOS WOULD BEGIN TO RETURN TO LAGOS.

WM ALGIERS: A. ALL FIVE PAPERS REPORT STATEMENTS BY CHIEF OF AWOLOWO, HEAD OF FMG DELEGATION TO ALGIERS SUMMIT, ON DEPARTURE OF DELEGATION FOR ALGIERS SEPT 11. MAIN POINTS WERE THAT NIGERIA WILL NOT AGREE TO UNILATERAL CEASE-FIRE BEFORE REBELS RENOUNCE SECESSION, FMG WOULD NOT PROTEST AT SUMMIT ABOUT FOUR AFRICAN STATES WHO HAVE RECOGNIZED BIAFRA, EMPHASIS ON PREVIOUS OAU DECISION THAT NIGERIAN AFFAIR WAS INTERNAL MATTER AND SHOULD NOT BE DISCUSSED AT PLENARY SESSION EXCEPT IN CLOSED SESSION. IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS AWOLOWO STATED HE HAD ALWAYS ADMIRER DE GAULLE AS REALIST AND DID NOT BELIEVE HE WOULD RECOGNIZE BIAFRA. TIMES REPORTS ALSO THAT AWOLOWO SAID, IN REPLY TO QUESTION CONCERNING READINESS TO MEET WITH REBEL ENVOYS AT ALGIERS, QTE IF DR. N. MZIKIWE HAPPENS TO BE AROUND, FOR INSTANCE, HE SAW NO REASON WHY HE SHOULD NOT MEET HIM AND ASK WHAT WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD FMG SINCE PAST TWO YEARS. UNQTE

B. SKETCH REPORTS CONGO-K FOREIGN MINISTRY QTE SPOKESMAN UNQTE STATED THAT ALGIERS SUMMIT WOULD NOT DISCUSS TSHOMBE AFFAIR WHICH WAS CONGOLESE INTERNAL MATTER. POST REPORTS TSHOMBE MAY BE RELEASED AND BANISHED FROM AFRICA AFTER MOBUTU REPORTEDLY TOLD BOUMEDIENNE HE HAD NO OBJECTIONS IF THIS WERE DONE.

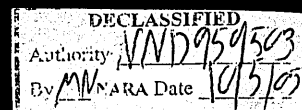
C. SKETCH AND POST CARRY VARIOUS REUTERS REPORTS OF EVENTS AT MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE AND ARRIVALS OF DELEGATIONS AND HEADS OF STATE. POST ALSO CARRIES ARTICLE BY QTE OUR CORRESPONDENT UQTE DEAILING EVENTS AT LAST OAU SUMMIT IN KINSHASA AND HOW IT STRENGTHENED OAV BY SHOWING OAU COULD REASSERT ITS INFLUENCE IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS, DESPITE INABILITY TO SOLVE NIGERIAN PROBLEM COMPLETELY.

3. RELIEF: OST AND SKETCH REPORT THAT NIGERIAN RED CROSS NOW HAS QTE AT LEAST UNQTE 5000 TONS OF RELIEF SUPPLIES IN LAGOS, ENUGU AND MID-WEST FOR DISTRIBUTION IN WAR AFFECTED AREAS. POSO STATES LDC-4S OPERATING BETWEEN LAGOS, ENUGULAND CALABAR HAD TRANSPORTED ABOUT 250 TONS TO AREAS THIS MONTH WITH QTE FLEET OF RELIEF LORRIES UNQTE ALSO IN USE FROM LAGOS TO ENUGU.

"4. BIAFYA: A. RADIO BIAFRA CARRIED REPORT SEPTEMBER 10 (FBIS 101550)

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 12594 122116Z

THAT QTE MAMMOTH GEMONSORATIONS UNQTE BEING HELD IN VARVOUS TOWNS OF BIAFRA TO SUPPORTRECOMMENDATION THAT CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY OF BIAFRA BE CALLED TO MANDATE OJUKWU TO TAKE STEPS FOR BIAFRAS QUITTING OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND JOINING THE QTE FRENCH COMMUNITY, UNQTE AS LEADERS OF THOUGHT MEETING HAD EARBIER RECOMMENDED (LAGOS 1:507).

B. TIMES CARRIES SOMEWHAT CONFUSED ACCOUNT THAT QTE OJUKWUS HENCHMEN HAVE BEEN SHOPPING FOR ARMS IN LONDON TO SUSTAIN THEIR CRAMY REBELLION UNQTE AND THAT QTE M NIGERIAN BAPK UNQTE OPERATING IN H LONDON IS INVOLVED IN DEAL. STATES THAT THIS CAME TO LIGHT IN DOCUMENTS SUBMITTED TO COMMONWEALTH OFFICE BY FORMER LABOR MP, RAYMOND BLACKBURN. BLACKBURN REPORTEDLY CLAIMED REBELS HAD BOUGHT TWO TORREDO BOATSLQTE DESCRIBED AS FAST MOTOR BOATS UNQTE FROM FIRM IN PORTSMOUTH, UK. TIMES ALSO SAID REBELS HAD RELEASED FUNDS LAST YEAR TO QTE GERMAN MERCENARY BARON CHRISTIAN FREWHERR VON OPPENHEIM UNQTE TO BUY FRAGMENTATION BOMBS AND ROCKETS, BUT BARON HAD BEEN QTE KILLED SHORTLY AFTERWARDS IN BOMBING RAID OVER LAGOS. UNQTE MATHEWS

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CONFIDENTIAL 925

PAGE 01 USUN N 06476 120324Z

87  
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INFO AF 10, EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,  
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, SCS 04, SCA 02, AID 28, SR 01,  
ORM 03, SAH 02, NEA 13, ARA 08, EA 10, RSR 01, /184 W

R 120020Z SEP 68  
FM USMISSION USUN NY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3135  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OSLO

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 6476 SECTION 1 OF 2

NIGERIA IN THE UN

1. REPS OF FIVE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES (FINLAND, DENMARK, ICELAND, NORWAY, SWEDEN) MET WITH BALL THIS PM TO REVIEW POSSIBLE ACTION IN HUMANITARIAN FIELD AT UN.
2. ASTROM (SWEDEN) LED OFF DISCUSSION BY STATING SYG HAD SENT REPLY TO NORDIC FOREIGN MINISTERS' LETTER. REPLY WAS NON-COMMITTAL AND STATED SYG HAD SENT SPECIAL REP GUSSING TO NIGERIA AND THAT NORDIC LETTER SHOULD HAVE BEEN REFERRED TO ICRC. SYG THEREFORE HAD TRANSMITTED NORDIC LETTER TO LINDT.
3. BALL WAS THEN QUERIED ABOUT HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH MAKONNEN (ETHIOPIA). BALL REVIEWED HIS DISCUSSION WITH MAKONNEN AND MADE POINTS AS CONTAINED IN USUN'S 6444. HE EXPRESSED GRATIFICATION OVER MAKONNEN'S IMPRESSION OF WHAT HIM'S REACTION WOULD BE TO UN INVOLVEMENT IN NIGERIAN QUESTION.

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2

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PAGE 02 USUN N 06476 120324Z

4. ASTROM THEN STATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WAS UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE FROM SWEDISH PUBLIC OPINION TO SHOW CONCERN PLIGHT OF CIVILIAN VICTIMS OF WAR. HE POINTED OUT GOS HAD DONE QUITE A LOT IN RELIEF FIELD. HE DID NOT THINK THERE WAS ANY PARTICULAR LACK OF LOGISTICS OR SUPPLIES, PROBLEM WAS HOW BREAK UP BOTTLENECK IN GETTING THINGS TO AREAS. HE SAID BOTH SIDES IN NIGERIAN CONFLICT WERE PLAYING A POLITICAL GAME WITH CIVILIAN VICTIMS. GOS WANTED TO DO EVERYTHING TO FURTHER HUMANITARIAN WORK IN NIGERIA AND DID NOT EXCLUDE POSSIBILITY OF TAKING UP QUESTION IN UN, PREFERABLY IN GA. GOS, HOWEVER, DID NOT WANT TO DO SO AGAINST AF WISHES OR WITHOUT CONSIDERABLE AF SUPPORT. HE ALLUDED TO STANLEYVILLE DROP IN 1964 IN WHICH AFS WERE DEEPLY DISTURBED OVER ACTION TAKEN. (BALL, IN THIS CONNECTION, REPLIED HE FELT AFRICAN FEARS OVER STANLEYVILLE HAD BEEN OVER-RATED, AND POINTED OUT HUMANITARIAN EFFORT IN NIGERIA WOULD BE TO SAVE AFRICANS.) ASTROM CONTINUED THAT UN CONSIDERATION COULD LEAD TO BITTER DEBATE BETWEEN AFS WHICH SHOULD BE AVOIDED. GOS WOULD WANT TO CONTINUE TO CONSULT TO SEE WHAT AF REACTION WOULD BE, BUT AT SAME TIME WAS VERY EAGER NOT TO STIR UP ANY POLITICAL TROUBLE. ASTROM THOUGHT EXPRESSION OF CONCERN BY OAU HEADS OF STATE, ACCOMPANIED WITH REQUEST FOR ALL COUNTRIES TO ASSIST IN HUMANITARIAN RELIEF, MIGHT SERVE AS PEG FOR UN INVOLVEMENT AND SUGGESTED HE MIGHT APPROACH CERTAIN AFS TO PLANT SEED WITH THIS SUGGESTION. (BORCH, DENMARK, DISAGREED WITH APPROACHING AFS PRIOR TO OAU MEETING.) HE STATED THERE TWO PRECEDENTS FOR UN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, I.E., IRANIAN AND SKOPJE EARTHQUAKES OF 1962 AND 1963 RESPECTIVELY.

5. HAMBRO (NORWAY), KUARTANSSON (ICELAND), CAWEN (FINLAND) AND BORCH ALL EXPRESSED SIMILAR VIEWS TO THOSE OF ASTROM, STATING THAT THEIR PUBLIC OPINIONS FELT VERY STRONGLY UN SHOULD DO SOMETHING IN PROVIDING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO CIVILIAN VICTIMS OF NIGERIAN WAR. ALL AGREED AFS SHOULD BE CONSULTED AND THAT MAKONNEN SHOULD BE APPROACHED FIRST IN ORDER DETERMINE HIM'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS UN INVOLVEMENT. BORCH FELT IT NECESSARY TO PREPARE EXPLANATORY MEMO ON WHAT WE EXPECTED ACCOMPLISH AT UN BEFORE APPROACHING MAKONNEN AND OTHER AFS.

6. BY END OF MEETING IT WAS GENERALLY AGREED IT MIGHT BE BEST

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

2

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PAGE 03 USUN N 06476 120324Z

WAIT FOR OUTCOME OF OAU SUMMIT MEETING BEFORE APPROACHING  
AFS ON POSSIBLE UN INVOLVEMENT.

7. IT WAS AGREED THAT DENMARK WOULD PREPARE DRAFT RES FOR  
FURUTE CONSIDERATION BY GROUP ON HUMANITARIAN RELIEF.

8. WHEN QUERIED RE UK REACTION TO POSSIBLE UN INVOLVEMENT ON  
NIGERIA, BALL STATED, THAT AS RESULT OF HIS TALKS WITH CARADON,  
HE ANTICIPATED UK WOULD BE CONCERNED OF UN INVOLVEMENT BECAUSE  
OF POSSIBILITY OF BEING ATTACKED FOR THEIR ROLE IN  
NIGERIAN CONFLICT.

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TELEGRAM

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CONFIDENTIAL 924

PAGE 01 USUN N 06476 120323Z

87  
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SCA 02, SAH 02, ARA 08, NEA 13, EA 10, RSR 01, /184 W

R 120020Z SEP 68  
FM USMISSION USUN NY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3136  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OSLO

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 6476 SECTION 2 OF 2

9. PRIOR TO MEETING WITH SCANS, CARADON HANDED BALL UK REACTION  
TO PROPOSED UN INVOLVEMENT. FOL IS TEXT OF CABLE SENT CARADON  
FROM FONOFF:

QUOTE

(A) WE FULLY SHARE AMERICAN CONCERN ABOUT NIGERIA AND  
INPARTICULAR ABOUT RELIEF OPERATIONS. AS THEY KNOW THROUGH  
OUR RECENT EXCHANGES WITH U.S. OFFICIALS IN LONDON, WE WANT TO  
WORK AS CLOSELY AS POSSIBLE WITH THEM IN ACTION TO IMPROVE  
PRESENT DISTRESSING SITUATION. WE THEREFORE HOPE THAT WE AND  
THEY CAN AGREE ON A MUTUAL LINE OVER ACTION WHETHER IN  
UN OR ELSEWHERE.

(B) WE ARE HOWEVER CONCERNED ABOUT IDEA OF A REQUEST FOR  
INSCRIPTION OF AN ITEM ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WITHOUT  
WAITING FOR OUTCOME OF O.A.U. MEETING IN ALGIERS AND  
PERHAPS BEFORE WE HAVE HEARD RESULTS OF SOUNDINGS WHICH

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

4

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PAGE 02 USUN N 06476 120323Z

MR. MALCOLM MACDONALD HAS BEEN MAKING IN ADDIS ABABA IN AGREEMENT WITH THEM. IT IS NOT OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT PROSPECTS FOR AGREEMENT OVER RELIEF ROUTES HAVE ALREADY FADED TO POINT OF DESPAIR. AND IT IS BIAFRANS WHO ARE STALLING ON AN AIRLIFT AGREED BY F.M. G. WITH INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS AND ON SURFACE ROUTES OFFERED BY FEDERAL GOVT. WE BELIEVE THAT A WESTERN INITIATIVE IN NEW YORK AT A TIME WHEN AFRICANS THEMSELVES ARE ACTIVELY DISCUSSING NIGERIAN PROBLEM WOULD RISK BEING TAKEN AS A SLAP IN FACE FOR O.A.U.'S OWN EFFORTS. IT SEEMS TO US A MISTAKE TO TAKE A SEPARATE INITIATIVE BEFORE IT IS CLEAR WHAT MORE AFRICANS CAN ACHIEVE THEMSELVES.

(C) IF DANGERS OF INSCRIPTION WERE TO BE ACCEPTED, WE SHOULD WANT TO HAVE A CLEAR IDEA OF WHAT WE WANTED AND EXPECTED TO ACHIEVE THEREBY. IN EITHER GENERAL ASSEMBLY OR SECURITY COUNCIL WE MUST FACE A SUBSTANTIAL RISK OF DISCUSSION OVERFLOWING ON TO POLITICAL ASPECTS OF DISPUTE IN A WAY WHICH WOULD CERTAINLY NOT BE IN OUR INTERESTS. INTERNATIONALISATION OF DISPUTE COULD ONLY WORK OUT TO BIAFRANS' ADVANTAGE AND THEREBY DEFER A SETTLEMENT ON BASIS OF NIGERIAN UNITY. OUR POLICIES IN NIGERIA WOULD BE PUT UNDER SEVERE STRAIN BY PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF POLITICAL ISSUES IN NEW YORK. ONLY BENEFICIARIES WOULD BE RUSSIANS IF, HAVING NO PUBLIC OPINION TO WORRY ABOUT, THEY GAVE FULL SUPPORT TO NIGERIAN INTEGRITY WHILST WESTERN POWERS INCURRED STRONG NIGERIAN RESENTMENT FOR INTERFERING IN WHAT THEY REGARD AS THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

(D) FOR ALL THESE REASONS WE HOPE THAT THE U.S. WILL NOT PURSUE THEIR PROPOSAL FOR REQUESTING INSCRIPTION OF AN ITEM. IN ANY CASE BEFORE ANY DEFINITE MOVE IS MADE, WE SHOULD LIKE AN OPPORTUNITY TO CONSIDER IMPLICATIONS MORE FULLY WITH THEM. IT SEEMS TO US THAT EVEN MOST HELPFULLY MEANT REFERENCE TO GA COULD EASILY BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE UNLESS IT IS VERY CAREFULLY HANDLED. BOTH AS TO TIMING AND AS TO SUBSTANCE WE WOULD BE SERIOUSLY PERTURBED IF WE AND AMERICANS GOT OUT OF STEP OVER AN INITIATIVE.

(E) EVEN IF ACTION IN THE U.N. COULD BE LIMITED TO RELIEF MEASURES, WE ARE NOT CLEAR WHAT OBJECTIVE WOULD BE. U THANT (AS WELL AS TWO SIDES TO CONFLICT) HAS ENDORSED INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS AS RIGHT COORDINATING BODY FOR ALL

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4

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PAGE 03 USUN N 06476 120323Z

INTERNATIONAL RELIEF EFFORTS IN NIGERIA, HAS SENT A PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE TO NIGERIA ON THIS BASIS AND HAS PUT U.N. AGENCIES TO WORK. WHAT FURTHER RELIEF ACTION COULD U.N. TAKE AND WOULD U THANT WELCOME STEPS WHICH MIGHT CUT ACROSS WHAT HE HAS ALREADY DONE?

UNQUOTE

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CONFIDENTIAL 490

PAGE 01 USUN: N: 06489 130118Z

83  
ACTION: IO: 15

INFO AF: 10, EUR: 15, VO: 02, CPR: 02, SY: 03, SCA: 02, INRI: 07, CIAE: 00, NSA: 02,

FBI: 01, P: 04, USIA: 12, RSR: 01, 1076 W

R: 122315Z SEP 68  
FM USMISSION USUN NY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3149  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
/AMEMBASSY LAGOS 259  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN: 6489

VISA REQUEST FOR BIAFRANS  
Note: Biafra - US 27 R-N.  
USUN'S A-2241, AUG 30.

1. ON: SEPT 10 DR. OTUE (BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVE IN US) CALLED MISOFF TO INQUIRE WHETHER IT POSSIBLE GET APPROVAL IN PRINCIPLE FROM USG ON GRANTING VISAS TO BIAFRAN DELEGATION WISHING SUBMIT PETITION TO UN RE: SITUATION IN BIAFRA. HE ALSO INQUIRE WHAT WAS BEST PLACE FOR THEM TO APPLY. NAMES HE SUGGESTED WERE EMBASSIES IN LISBON, LIBREVILLE AND OTTAWA. AFTER CHECK WITH DEPT, MISOFF CALLED OTUE BACK SAME DAY TO INFORM HIM THAT IF BIAFRAN DEL WERE PETITIONING UN, VISA COULD ONLY BE ISSUED AS RESULT OF UN INVITATION TO BIAFRAN DEL TO APPEAR AS PETITIONER. OTUE REPLIED HE WOULD ENDEAVOR DISCUSS MATTER WITH UN.

2. ON: SEPT 12 OTUE CALLED MISOFF AGAIN RE: VISAS AND SAID: AFTER CHECK WITH UN, LATTER WOULD NOT INVITE BIAFRAN DEL TO PETITION UN SINCE BIAFRA NOT UN MEMBER. IN VIEW THIS, OTUE AGAIN REQUESTED USG VISA FOR BIAFRAN DEL, MISOFF AGAIN REITERATED DEPT POLICY RE: ISSUANCE OF VISAS. OTUE THEN LAUNCHED INTO LONG DISCUSSION IN WHICH HE SAID HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND US

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USUN 6489 9/12/68

0812

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

37



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 492

PAGE 01 LAGOS 12557 111141Z

45  
ACTION AF 16

INFO IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, EUR 15,

ACDA 16, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02, RSR 01, /157 W

O 111100Z SEP 68 ZFF-4  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2503  
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 12557

REF: STATE 235496: LAGOS: 12542

CONTACT WITH UKHICOM MILATT NEGATIVE ON HOSPITAL BOMBINGS.  
BRIG. EKPO - COFS SUPREME HQS ALSO HAD NO INFORMATION BUT  
ADDED FMG INSTRUCTIONS CONTINUE TO BE NO BOMBING OF  
HOSPITALS AND CIVILIAN INSTITUTIONS.

GP-3

MATHEWS

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0813

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Authority VND 954503  
By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/03

*Handwritten:*  
Lagos 12557  
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POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 616

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05668 102141Z

88  
ACTION SS 70

INFO CCO 00,SSO 00,NSCE 00,DODE 00,CIAE 00,USIE 00, /070 W  
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O P 101845Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6987  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5668

LIMDIS

REF: ADDIS ABABA 5655

SUBJECT: HIM AND FONMIN COMMENTS ON NIGERIA

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM SENT BY BRITISH EMBASSY THIS EVENING TO  
LONDON, LAGOS, GENEVA, ALGIERS, UK MISSION NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON:

QTE: FROM MALCOML MACDONALD.

SWANN AND I HAD FRIENDLY RELAXED TALK WITH EMPEROR THIS  
AFTERNOON. ON THE NIGERIAN PROBLEM HIS THOUGHTS APPEAR TO BE AS  
FOLLOWS:

(A) THERE IS A CHANCE THAT HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES ON THE O.A. U.  
CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE IN ALGIERS CAN TAKE ACTION WHICH WILL  
SECURE AGREEMENT OF THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES  
AND THE BIAFRANS TO THE USE OF ONE OF THE TWO PROPOSED  
AIRFIELDS FOR EMERGENCY RELIEF SUPPLIES. PROBABLY THIS WOULD BE  
ULI ON THE BASIS OF RELIEF SUPPLIES BEING DELIVERED DURING THE  
DAYTIME AND OTHER SUPPLIES FOR THE BIAFRANS DURING THE NIGHTS.

(B) HE WILL PURSUE FURTHER AT ALGIERS HIS SUGGESTIONS FOR A  
MORE COMPREHENSIVE DELIVERY OF RELIEF SUPPLIES BY A LAND AS WELL  
AS AIR ROUTE, BUT HE IS NOT (REPEAT NOT) OPTIMISTIC OF GETTING

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Addis Ababa 5668  
9-10-68

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05668 102141Z

PROPOSALS WHICH WILL BE AGREEABLE TO BOTH THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES AND THE BIAFRANS.

(C) AS REGARDS ANY POSSIBILITY OF AN AGREEMENT ON: (I) A CEASE FIRE AND (II) A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT BY NEGOTIATION, HE IS VERY PESSIMISTIC. HE SAID THAT BOTH SIDES CREATED GREAT DIFFICULTIES THROUGHOUT THE TALKS HERE, ALTHOUGH HE GAVE SOME INDICATION THAT THE BIAFRANS WERE MORE DIFFICULT THAN THE OTHER.

(D) HE FEELS VERY FRUSTRATED THOUGHT HE REMAINS CHARACTERISTICALLY CALM AND READY TO GIVE ANY FURTHER HELP HE CAN. HE IS CRITICAL (THOUGH HE DID NOT EXPRESS THIS CRITICISM IN POSITIVE WORDS) OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE FOR LEAVING HIM ALONE TO STRUGGLE WITH THE TWO NIGERIAN SIDES THROUGHOUT THE LAST SEVERAL WEEKS. HE NOW WISHES TO PLACE THE PROBLEM BACK IN THE COURT OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE AS A WHOLE.

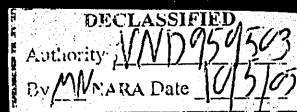
HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION OF H. M.G.'S OFFER WHICH I CONVEYED TO HIM) TO CONSIDER SYMPATHETICALLY ANY SUGGESTION OR SUGGESTIONS HE MIGHT MAKE OF WAYS IN WHICH THEY COULD HELP HIM. HE SAID HE WOULD LET YOU KNOW THROUGH OUR EMBASSY IF HE HAD ANY SUCH SUGGESTION TO MAKE, BUT HE CLEARLY HAS NO SUCH IDEA AT PRESENT. HE IS WAITING TO SEE WHAT IS THE OUTCOME OF DISCUSSIONS IN ALGIERS. HE REGARDS THE PROBLEM AS PRIMARILY ONE FOR HIMSELF AND THE AFRICANS IN THE O.A.U. TO SETTLE IN CONSULTATION WITH THE NIGERIANS. I FELT (AND SWANN AGREES) THAT HE WOULD NOT (REPEAT NOT) HAVE BEEN RESPONSIVE NOW TO ANY POSITIVE SUGGESTIONS FROM US, SO I DID NOT MAKE ANY. I DID ASK HIM WHETHER HE THOUGHT AN ELEMENT IN THE SITUATION IS FEAR ON OJUKWU'S PART THAT IF THE BIAFRANS SURRENDER OR SEEK A COMPROMISE HE HIMSELF MIGHT BE EXECUTED, AND THEREFORE WHETHER IN HIS VIEW A SUGGESTION THAT GOWON SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT OJUKWU WOULD BE INCLUDED IN ANY AMNESTY COULD HELP. THE EMPEROR'S COMMENT ON THIS WAS IN THE NEGATIVE.

3. AFTER LEAVING THE EMPEROR WE WENT FOR A TALK WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER. HE TOOK VERY MUCH THE SAME LINE AS THE EMPEROR, WITH THE FOLLOWING DIFFERENCES OF EMPHASES:

(A) HE WAS MORE POSITIVE (THOUGH NOT CERTAIN) THAT AN AGREEMENT WILL DEFINITELY BE REACHED ON THE USE OF AN AIRFIELD (PROBABLY ULT) FOR EMERGENCY RELIEF SUPPLIES, AS MENTIONED IN PARAGRAPH

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03 ADDIS 05668 102141Z

1(A) ABOVE. HE SEES DIFFICULTY ABOUT GETTING AGREEMENT ON A MORE COMPREHENSIVE RELIEF PLAN AS REFERRED TO IN 1(B) ABOVE. BUT THINKS THAT IF THIS IS UNPROCURABLE, AGREEMENT ABOUT ONE AIRFIELD AS SUGGESTED IN 1(A) MIGHT BE EXTENDED BEYOND THE TEN DAYS.

(B) HE WAS MORE OUTSPOKENLY CRITICAL OF THE BIAFRANS FOR THEIR REFUSAL TO MAKE ANY CONCESSIONS WHATEVER WITH A VIEW TO REACHING A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT BY NEGOTIATION, ALTHOUGH HE WAS ALSO CRITICAL OF SOME ASPECTS OF THE FEDERAL REPRESENTATIVES' ATTITUDES. HE THINKS THERE IS NO (REPEAT NO) CHANCE AT ALL OF A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT BY NEGOTIATION, THAT THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES ARE DETERMINED TO SETTLE THE MATTER BY AN OUTRIGHT MILITARY VICTORY, AND THAT ALTHOUGH THEY MAY WELL CAPTURE THE PRINCIPAL TOWNS IN THE BIAFRAN HELD TERRITORY, GUERRILLA WARFARE WILL THEN CONTINUE INDEFINITELY. HE THINKS TRIBAL BITTERNESS BETWEEN THE IBOS AND OTHERS WILL PERSIST TO AN EXTREME EXTENT, AND THAT THE FUTURE PROSPECT IS ONE OF CONTINUING TRAGEDY FOR NIGERIA AS A WHOLE.

4. HE PRAISED THE EMPEROR'S EFFORTS VERY HIGHLY, BUT SAID THAT HIS MAJESTY NOW FEELS BITTERLY FRUSTRATED AND WILL NOT (REPEAT NOT) CONTINUE ANY FURTHER EFFORTS AT MEDIATION BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES BY HIMSELF ALONE. WHEN I URGED THAT IF HE CANNOT GET THE ACTIVE HELP OF OTHERS, THE EMPEROR SHOULD BE READY TO CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS AS LONG AS MIGHT BE USEFUL, BECAUSE HE IS THE BEST STATESMAN FOR THIS VERY DIFFICULT TASK. ETEMA YIFRU WAS SCEPTICAL. OBVIOUSLY BEING PERSONALLY IN FAVOR OF THE EMPEROR WITHDRAWING.

5. PLEASE SEE MY IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING TELEGRAM (NOT TO ALL) ABOUT SWANN'S AND MY TALKS WITH BOTH THE EMPEROR AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER ABOUT THEIR RECENT AGREEMENT WITH EGAL REGARDING ETHIOPIAN-SOMALI RELATIONS. UNQTE:

EXPECT FILL-IN TOMORROW ON TALKS MENTIONED PARA 5.

HALL

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0816

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05

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*Pol 27 Biafra-Nigeria*  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 057

PAGE 01 MONROV 07193 111753Z

49S  
ACTION SS 70

INFO CCO 00,SSO 00,NSCE 00,USIE 00,CIAE 00,1070 W

O R 111647Z SEP 68 ZFF-4  
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 5131

*Levi Des*

*Monrovia 7193  
9/11/68*

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 7193

REF: ADDIS ABABA 5642

*Pol 27 Biafra-Nigeria*

SUBJ: MESSAGE FROM EMPEROR TO PRESIDENT TUBMAN ETHIOPIAN AMB  
HAS ASKED EMBASSY PASS MESSAGE TO MINISTRY FONAFAIRS, ADVISING  
THAT EMPEROR'S LETTER DELIVERED. PRESIDENT TUBMAN. PRESIDENT  
MADE NO COMMENT OTHER THAN TO SAY HE WOULD SEE EMPEROR AT  
ALGIERS. BROWN

HANDLED LIMDIS PER SSO.

MICROFILMED BY RS/W

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0817

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05



L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screeners 1/1

POST Memoranda

(Time Received)

SERIAL 7193

1968 SEP 11 PM 4 16

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT 210

Secretariat

Geographic

Other

S/S-S 1  
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S/S-Screener 3  
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S/S-O DIR 3  
MilRep 3  
Summary 3  
Task Force 3

AF5 5  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 9  
NEA 7

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR2  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2

Functional

Principals

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OTHER AGENCIES

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Burned

0818

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By MMNARA Date 10/5/05

(11)



POL 7 GABON  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
XR POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

CONFIDENTIAL 971

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01737 111720Z

44  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,  
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, IO 13, AID 28, RSR 01, 145 W

R 111700Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1940  
I FO: RUTAIJ/AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN 154  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 1737  
REF ABIDJAN 4269 NOTAL  
POL 7 GABON

SUBJ. BONGO TRIP TO ABIDJAN

JUST AS WE RECEIVED REFTEL CHIEFS DIP MISSIONS HERE REQUESTED  
BE AT AIRPORT TOMORROW SEPT 12 AT 0800 FOR BONGO  
DEPARTURE FOR ABIDJAN. HAVE NO INDICATION PURPOSE TRIP  
BUT POSSIBLE MAJOR MOTIVATION TRACEABLE TO APPARENT  
BONGO DISCOURAGEMENT AND DISILLUSIONMENT OVER FAILURE  
IVORY COAST, FRANCE AND OTHERS TAKE MORE EFFECTIVE ACTION  
ON BEHALF BIAFRA (LBVLI 1709 AND 1710). APPARENTLY  
BONGO HAS NO INTENTION GO ON TO ALGIERS OAU SUMMIT. STORY  
IS HE PLANS RETURN HERE SUNDAY SEPT 15. GP 3 NELSON

Libreville 1737  
9-11-68

(2)

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Authority: VND 950503  
By: MNA Date: 10/3/05

66 POL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

PPB 9-3 NIGERIA

235718

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

10 SEP 68 20 44  
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Origin  
Info:

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA  
LONDON  
PARIS  
US MISSION GENEVA  
USUN  
CINCSTRIKE  
Amconsul IBADAN  
Amconsul KADUNA

SUBJECT: Nigeria Daily Press Summary - September 10

1. Reports of Nixon statement reported septel.
2. All papers carry report De Gaulle press conference with statements on Nigeria/Biafra downplayed to middle of story. Donald Loucheim (Post) says it first time a major power had openly admitted helping Biafrans in their 15-month war of independence against Nigerian govt. Tucked into Post story in parentheses is Reuters report of Biafran radio saying community leaders called for urgent meeting of Biafran consultative assembly to consider if Biafra can be integrated into French community. Henry Tanner (NY Times) also makes point that in first acknowledgement of this kind de Gaulle declared QTE France has been, and is, helping UNQTE Biafrans in secessionist effort. In past, Tanner says, French officials have consistently denied reports French financial assistance had made it possible for Biafra buy modest quantities arms and ammunition. Tanner says de Gaulle made it clear he supported Biafrans because their aspirations corresponded his own basic

Drafted by: AF/P:RLPerkins:mb 9/10/68

Tel. Ext. 2105

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Nigerian Task Force - Mr. Melbourne

Clearances:

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

0820

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MWA Date: 10/3/05

Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

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concept of nationhood. British system of federations between rival ethnic and religious groups is unworkable, he asserted, citing Canada, Rhodesia, Malaysia and Cyprus as examples other than Nigeria. He underlined fact Ibos are Christians while other regions largely inhabited by Moslems.

3. Wash Star Sept 9 carries AP story from Aba on food distribution by FMG with photo of Brig. H. Katsina talking to two men said be former Biafran soldiers who defected to Federal army. FMG army rounded up 300 persons in nearly deserted city and handed over food to them, three days after Aba capture. Virtually none of 300 was an Ibo. They were some of thousands army believes remain in Aba, which before war was trading center of 131,000 inhabitants. But streets almost empty. Troops gruffly hustled weakened men to unload sacks rice, beans, dried and smoked fish from Norway. Stinking fish crawled with vermin. One bone-thin man took ration, climbed to roof of modern two-story townhall and chewed at his fish. Some men too weak from hunger to carry bags. Children stared listlessly but wide-eyed. Very young had pale gold hair, symptomatic protein starvation. From Italian built ammo carrier, civilians pulled cartons condensed milk. On second floor town hall 3-year old boy the size of year-old toddler sucked on sour green pickle. Col. Adekunle said his troops, not Red Cross, would handle relief in area because QTE they know what Nigerians need, not milk but rice, beans and such solid foods UNQTE. He has refused permit ICRC and its cartons dried milk into the front. Town hall a pathetic scene with families cooking mashed roots at front door and dazed persons, twisted from malnutrition, wandering about. QTE I am Jesus Christ. Father has passed a miracle UNQTE said one bright-eyed Ibo man. ICRC says it flew 80 tons of food, medicine into Biafra Saturday night, has flown since Sept 3 total 218 tons

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FORM DS-322A  
8-63  
CONTINUATION SHEET

0821

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Authority VND 959503  
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

Page 3 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

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supplies and 55 doctors, nurses and Red Cross workers into Biafra. Still no word from Geneva when daytime flights would begin. It held up by failure Biafran and Nigerian govts agree which landing strips will be used.

4. Balt Sun AP Lagos story headed Gowon vows rebel trial - will not grant amnesty to Biafran leader. Gowon said today he would not trade life of Ojukwu for peace in Nigeria's civil war. QTE His life is not worth lives of 56 million Nigerians UNQTE he told news conference. He said if his troops ~~were~~ caught Ojukwu inside dwindling border Biafra, he would be placed on trial for treason. QTE A simple charge UNQTE added Gowon who served with Ojukwu in Nigerian army before civil war. A newsman asked what is penalty for treason in Nigeria. QTE We follow English law UNQTE answered Gowon. QTE In fact, it would be death UNQTE said reporter. QTE Thank you UNQTE said Gowon. An estimated 6 million persons are jammed in 5,000 square miles of what once was 29,000 square mile eastern Region. QTE There is not going to be any indiscriminate slaughter of innocent civilians. I want to swear it by God Almighty UNQTE said Gowon. He added troops have been ordered avoid harming any of scores of relief workers from Europe and North America now in Biafra. Refused take direct issue with de Gaulle and his press conference statement. QTE He is head of state and has right to say anything he wants about any situation. I only hope he considers implication of any actions he contemplates doing. I hope he does not take action. I can never tell the repercussions in this country. I am not worried about what anybody says about this country. All Nigerians are determined keep this country one UNQTE. Nevertheless he repeated accusation some of arms getting to Biafra are from France. Said he thought war would end

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FORM DS-322A  
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CONTINUATION SHEET

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Authority VND 950/503  
By MV NARA Date 10/5/05

Page <sup>4</sup> of telegram to Amembassy LAOGS

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within eight weeks and added Nigerian army trained fight guerrillas if secessionists continued fight on from bush, as Ojukwu has sworn they will.

5. Times carries Addis AFP report peace talks postponed indefinitely. Announcement by spokesman for OAU after meeting presided over by Emperor. Consultative Committee plans another effort get two sides together soon in Algiers. Al Friendly Jr. reports on Gowon press conference from Lagos, says Gowon saw no prospect resuming peace talks with Biafra but pledged his troops would not QTE bulldoze everything in our way UNQTE in final thrust. Said his troops ~~would~~ under orders move cautiously and try to save as many lives and as much property as possible. Besides, you can never tell about fortunes of war and what setbacks might slow present military plans and estimates. Also said he had not ruled out attending Sept 13-16 OAU meeting Algiers, depending on situation at home. Times reports from Sao Tome Nigerian forces moving against Owerri, and Rolph Steiner has moved his Fourth Brigade from Aba to defence of Owerri. Times has Reuters report Geneva claims 305 tons flown by ICRC since Sept 3.

END

RUSK

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FORM DS-322A  
8-63  
CONTINUATION SHEET

0823

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Authority VND 954503  
By MWA Date 10/5/05

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POC 27-BIAPRA-NIGERIA  
235496

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
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Origin  
Info:

ACTION: US MISSION GENEVA  
Amembassy LAGOS  
IMMEDIATE  
"

STATE

YU HLTH. 14-6 BIAPRA

SUBJECT: FMG Bombing

1. Press articles Sept 6 reported FMG aircraft bombed Biafran hospitals at Ihiala, Ozubulu and Nnewi, wounding scores of civilian patients. Central market at Ihiala also reported bombed with 100 killed.
2. Has ICRC verified above attacks? For purposes Congressional hearing Sept 11 need urgently all possible info this subject.

END

RUSK

RECORDED BY 85/8

Drafted by: <i>RL</i>	Tel. Ext. 6402	Telegraphic transmission and classification: <i>RM</i> Nigeria Task Force Roy M. Melbourne
AF/W:RPSmith:ncs:9/10/68		
Clearances:		

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FORM DS-322  
8-65

0824

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12519 101303Z

53

ACTION AF 16

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, CIAE 00, DOOE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, SA 01, AID 28, PC 04, ACDA 16, IO 13,

RSR 01, /137 W

U 101215Z SEP 68 ZFF-4  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2478  
INFO USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

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JOINT EMBASSY/USIS MESSAGE

USIA FOR IAA, IPS, IBS

REF: STATE 234779

1. FMG HAS MADE IT POLICY OVER PAST YEAR TO FACILITATE CORRESPONDENTS TRAVEL TO THOSE COMBAT AREAS UNDER FEDERAL CONTROL. IT HAS EVEN FLOWN CORRESPONDENTS IN FROM LONDON AT FMG EXPENSE. POLICY APPARENTLY APPLIES THOSE AREAS FAIRLY WELL SECURED BY FMG, ALTHOUGH SOME CORRESPONDENTS HAVE BEEN CAUGHT IN CONTERATTACKS, NOTABLY AT ONITSHA SHORTLY AFTER FMG HAD CLAIMED ITS CAPTURE.

2. APPROXIMATELY TWENTY CORRESPONDENTS VISITED ABA FRONT SEPTEMBER FIVE AND SIX. THESE INCLUDED AP, AFP, REUTERS, BB, VOA, WEST AFRICA, DAILY TELEGRAPH, SUNDAY TIMES, PLUS REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER EUROPEAN NEWS ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDING A FRENCH TELEVISION TEAM.

3. MOST RECENT VISITS HAVE BEEN TO THIRD DIVISION AREAS SINCE THIS IS WHERE MOST ACTION TAKING PLACE. IN PAST VISITS HAVE BEEN SHORT AND CORRESPONDENTS NOT BEEN ALLOWED REMAIN WITH TROOPS FOR ANYTHING LONGER THAN DAY OR TWO. GROUP WHICH VISITED ABA SEPTEMBER SIX TOLD BY ADEKUNLE

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By: MVA Date: 10/5/05



46



POL 27 BIAFRA- NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

23

CONFIDENTIAL 865

PAGE 01 YAOUNDE 02088 101239Z

51  
ACTION SS: 70

INFO CIAE 00, /070 W

*Lim Dis*

PL 100908Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2401

C O N F I D E N T I A L YAOUNDE 2088

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (FOR MRN ONLY VICE 6188)

SUBJ: ALGIERS OAU MEETINGS - MESSAGE FROM HAILE SALASSIE

REF: ADDIS ABABA 5642 — POL 27 BIAFRA- NIGERIA

1. IN ABSENCE OF PRESIDENT EMADOU AHIDJO, WHO DEPARTED  
YAOUNDE QUIETLY ON 7 SEPTEMBER AND IS PRESENTLY IN ALGIERS,  
MESSAGE DELIVERED TO HIGHEST RANKING AVAILABLE OFFICIAL OF  
PRESIDENCY, VICTOR AYISSI MVODO RPT AYISSI MVODO, DEPUTY  
MINISTER-SECRETARY GENERAL, AT 0815Z TODAY.

2. GIVEN POSSIBLE COMMUNICATIONS DIFFICULTIES, EMBASSY  
ALGIERS MAY WISH PASS COPY TO CAMEROON EMBASSY THERE TO  
ENSURE RECEIPT.

GP-3. PAYTON

NOTE: HANDLED LIMDIS PER SYS-O.

Yaounde 2088  
9-10-68

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CONFIDENTIAL

0826

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Authority: VND 950503  
By: MNA Date: 10/3/05

L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screeners 1/4

POST Yaounde

(Time Received)

SERIAL 2088

1968 SEP 10 PM 4 14

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT 209

Secretariat

S/S-S 1  
S/S-O 1  
S/S-Screener 3  
S/S-EX 1  
S/S-CMS 1  
S/S-O DIR 1  
MilRep 1  
Summary 1  
Task Force 1

Geographic

AF5 5  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 9  
NEA 7

Functional

CU 1  
E 2 1  
H 1  
IGA 1  
INR 6  
IO4 1  
L2 1  
O3 1  
OPR 1  
OC 1  
SY 1  
WLG 1  
P2 1  
SCA 1  
SCS 1  
SCI 1

OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10  
CIA 5  
DOD 1  
USIA 4  
NSA 1

Other

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR2 1  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2  
PC 1  
VP 1  
AEC 3  
AGR 3  
COM 2  
EXIM 1  
FRB 1  
LAB 1  
NASA 1  
NIC 1  
STR 1  
TRANS 1  
TRSY 6  
JUS 1  
IRS 1  
INT 1  
BOB 1  
FBI 1  
CEA 1  
FAA 1  
File 1  
Burned 1

Principals

ES 1  
S 1  
U 1  
M 2  
G 1  
SIG 1  
S/AH 3  
S/AL 1  
SA 1  
S/CPR 1  
S/GOV 1  
S/IL 1  
S/P 1  
S/R 1  
S/FW 1  
S/PM 1  
M/WP 1  
G/PM 1

0827

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Authority: VND954503  
By: MM Date: 10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

20

SECRET 786

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02544 101207Z

52  
ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00,1070 W

O P 101130Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2245

S E C R E T NIAMEY 2544

REF: ADDIS ABABA 5642 — POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

LIMDIS

SUBJ: HIMS MESSAGE

I DELIVERED MESSAGE REFTEL TO PRESIDENT DIORI 1030 LOCAL  
PRIOR HIS DEPARTURE FOR OUAGADOUGOU MEETING ENTENTE  
CHIEFS OF STATE.

GP-2 ADAMS

*NIAMEY 2544  
9-10668*

①

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SECRET

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MVA/ARA Date: 10/5/05

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Screeners *mb*

POST

SERIAL

*Miner*  
*2544*

(Time Received)

1968 SEP 10 AM 10 34

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT *207*

Secretariat

S/S-S *1*  
S/S-O *10*  
S/S-Screener *3*  
S/S-EX  
S/S-CMS  
S/S-O DIR  
MilRep  
Summary  
Task Force

Principals

ES *2*  
S *4*  
U  
M *2*  
G  
SIG  
S/AH *3*  
S/AL  
SA  
S/CPR  
S/GOV  
S/IL  
S/P  
S/R  
S/FW  
S/PM  
M/WP  
G/PM

Geographic

AF5 *5*  
ARA *9*  
EA *11*  
EUR *9*  
NEA *7*

Functional

CU  
E 2  
H  
IGA  
INR *6*  
IO4  
L2  
O3  
OPR  
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OTHER AGENCIES

WH *10*  
CIA *10*  
DOD  
USIA *4*  
NSA

Other

ACDA *5*  
AID/EXSEC *3*  
AA/AFR2  
AA/VN *2*  
AA/EA *3*  
AA/NEA *2*

PC

VP

AEC *3*  
AGR *3*  
COM *2*  
EXIM  
FRB  
LAB  
NASA  
NIC  
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TRSY *6*  
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By: *MM/ARA* Date: *10/5/05*

L I M D I S  
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TOP SECRET

Screened RUM

POST Addis Ababa

(Time Received)

SERIAL 5668

1968 SEP 10 PM 8 25

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT 2.8

Secretariat

Geographic

Other

S/S-S 1  
S/S-O 1  
S/S-Screener 3  
S/S-EX 3  
S/S-CMS 3  
S/S-O DIR 3  
MilRep 3  
Summary 3  
Task Force 3

AF5 X5  
ARA 9 X5  
EA 11 X5  
EUR 9 ✓9  
NEA 7 ✓9

ACDA 5 5  
AID/EXSEC 3 3  
AA/AFR 2 3  
AA/VN 2 3  
AA/EA 3 3  
AA/NEA 2 3

Functional

Principals

CU 5  
E 2 5  
H 5  
IGA 5  
INR 6 ✓6  
IO 4 ✓4  
L 2 ✓4  
O 3 ✓4  
OPR ✓4  
OC ✓4  
SY ✓4  
WLG ✓4  
P 2 ✓4  
SCA ✓4  
SCS ✓4  
SCI ✓4

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VP 5  
AEC 3 3  
AGR 3 3  
COM 2 3  
EXIM 3  
FRB 3  
LAB 3  
NASA 3  
NIC 3  
STR 3  
TRANS 3  
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BOB 3  
FBI 3  
CEA 3  
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ES 2 5  
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S/CPR 3  
S/GOV 3  
S/IL 3  
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OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10 P10  
CIA P10  
DOD P10  
USIA 4 P4  
NSA P4

File 5  
Burned 5

0830

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Authority VND 9503  
By MMNARA Date 10/5/05

37



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12542 101754Z

51  
ACTION AF 16

INFO: IO 13, EUR 15, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, AID 28, SCS 04,

SCA 02, SR 01, ORM 03, E 15, SAH 02, OPR 02, RSR 01, /160 W

O 101740Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2495:  
USMISSION GENEVA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 12542

REF: STATE 235496 - *Re 27 Biafra - Nigeria*

SUBJECT: FMG BOMBING

NO INFORMATION ON ALLEGED HOSPITAL BOMBINGS AVAILABLE LAGOS.  
ONLY NEWS WE HAVE DERIVED FROM DEPTS PRESS SUMMARY SEPT 6-9.  
WILL ATTEMPT OBTAIN SOMETHING PRIOR TO HEARINGS BUT NOT HOPE-  
FUL. HEAVY RAINSTORMS HAVE KNOCKED OUT TELEPHONES.  
MATHEWS

MICROFILMED BY NSA

(1)

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*lagos*  
*12542*  
*9-10-68*

0831

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Authority: VND 954503  
By: MWA/ARA Date: 10/5/05



POL 57 BIAFRA - NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04754 101811Z

46  
ACTION AF 16

INFO IO 13,SCS 04,SCA 02,SR 01,ORM 03,SAH 02,EUR 15,CCO 00,CI AE 00,  
DODE 00,NSAE 00,NSCE 00,SSD 00,USIE 00,AID 28,GPM 04,HI 02,INR 07,  
LI 03,NSC 10,P 04,RSC 01,SP 02,SS 25,RSR 01,143 W

O 101809Z SEP 68 ZFF-4  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8834  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 4754

SUBJECT: FMG BOMBING

REF: STATE 235496

MAUNOIR, DEPUTY DIRECTOR ICRC, TELLS ME LETTER JUST RECEIVED  
FROM ICRC REP JAGGI DATED SEPT 9 AND SENT FROM UMUHIA  
REPORTING BOMBING OF HOSPITAL AT IHIALA. NO MENTION OF  
BOMBING OF OTHER HOSPITALS, REFTEL OR OF MARKET PLACE AT  
IHIALA. JAGGI SAYS HOWEVER THAT DURING PAST TWO WEEKS THERE  
HAVE BEEN NUMEROUS BOMBINGS AND HEAVY LOSSES IN BIAFRAN  
TERRITORY. ICRC SAYS WILL PASS ON IMMEDIATELY TO US ANY  
FURTHER INFORMATION RECEIVED RE THIS SITUATION.

TUBBY

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Authority: VND 950503  
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05

37

## OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ collect  
☐ CHARGE TOCONFIDENTIAL  
ClassificationOrigin ACTION: Amembassy BAMAKO  
Info INFO: Amembassy LAGOS

## STATE

REF: State 235387-*Al Mali-US*  
*XR*  
*File 7 MALI*

SUBJECT: Palmer/Keita Discussion: Nigeria

Palmer met with Malian Ambassador Keita Sept 7 prior to latter's departure for Bamako. Following is summary of their discussion on Nigeria:

1. Ambassador said President Modibo Keita stated at Belgrade that each African State must, for peace, keep colonial frontiers, and that ethnic and tribal problems must be surmounted. Mali had hoped Nigeria would be excellent example for Africa in this regard. Secession there is a very bad example. Mali is against secession and desires that Nigerian problems be solved internally. Mali approves of similar US stand. Keita added that he could not say more until he consulted with GOM, but he hoped that a way could be found to end the human carnage on the African continent.

2. Palmer said Mali and US see the Nigerian problem in the same way. US has consistently taken position that it is a Nigerian problem first and an African problem second. US is

Drafted by:

AF/NW - William B. Williams 9/9/68

Tel. Ext.

4414

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

AF - Mr. Palmer

Clearance:

AF - Amb. Moore

AF/NW - Mr. Wing

3

FORM DS-322  
8-65CONFIDENTIAL  
Classification

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Authority: VND 954503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05





POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12511 110805Z

22  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,  
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SAH 02, ACDA 16, SR 01,  
ORM 03, PC 04, RSR 01, /143 W

R 101510Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2475  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA UNN  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA UNN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA UNN  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY UNN  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE UNN  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
BT  
UNCLAS LAGOS 12511

SUBJECT: - NIGERIAN PRESS ROUND-UP SEPTEMBER 10

1. ADDIS TALKS: FMG ISSUED PRESS RELEASE SEPT 9 ANNOUNCING  
QTE ADJOURNMENT UNQTE OF ADDIS TALKS AND RETURN OF NIGERIAN  
DELEGATION. POST AND TRIBUNE REPORT QTE INDEFINITE UNQTE  
ADJOURNMENT AND STATE HIM WILL PRESENT REPORT TO ALGIERS SUMMIT  
ON TALKS.

2. ALGIERS: POST, TIMES AND PILOT REPORT ARIKPO INTERVIEW SEPT  
9 ON ENGLISH SERVICE RADIO ALGIERS STATING REBELLION WOULD HAVE  
BEEN CRUSHED LONG AGO BUT FOR INTERVENTION OF CERTAIN FOREIGN  
INTERESTS. ALL THREE ALSO REPORT ARIKPO INTERVIEW WITH ALGIERS  
NEWSPAPER STATING THAT OAU CAN BEST CONTRIBUTE TO SOLUTION TO  
NIGERIAN CRISIS BY SHOWING UNANIMITY AND CALLING ON REBELS TO

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0834

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Authority: VND 954503  
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 12511 110805Z

RENOUNCE SECESSION. SAID THAT FOUR AFRICAN STATES RECOGNIZING BIAFRA WERE FURTHERING AIMS OF NEO-COLONIALISTS PLOTTING AGAINST SECURITY AND UNITY OF DEVELOPING AFRICAN STATES.

POST AND PILOT QUOTE QTE NIGERIAN SOURCES IN ALGIERS UNQTE AS SAYING GENERAL GOWON MAY ATTEND SUMMIT QTE IF MILITARY SITUATION PERMITS. UNQTE

B) PILOT REPORTS DIALLO TELLI REPORT TO CONFERENCE. POST AND TIMES CARRY REUTERS-BASED REPORTS ON ALGIERS DISCUSSION ON RHODESIA.

C) TRIBUNE HAS FRONT-PAGE EDITORIAL ON TSHOMBE AFFAIR. ADMITTING THAT TSGOMBE LED SECESSIONISTS AND IS MOST UNPOPULAR AFRICAN LEADER IN RECENT TIMES, TRIBUNE STATES THAT NEVERTHELESS HIJACKING INEXCUSABLE AND TSHOMBE MUST BE RELEASED AND ALLOWED TO TAKE ASYLUM IN ANY COUNTRY HE WISHES. ENDS WITH STATEMENT QTE PRESIDENT MOBUTU ALREADY HAS A FEW DASTARDLY MURDERS TO HIS CREDIT. BUT IT NOT PLACE OF OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO AID SUCH MURDERS OF POLITICAL OPPONENTS. TSHOMBE SHOULD BE SET FREE. UNQTE

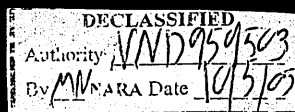
3. GOWON SPEAKS TO FOREIGN PRESSMEN: POST HEADLINES STATEMENTS BY GOWON TO GROUP OF FOREIGN PRESSMEN JUST RETURNED FROM WAR ZONES. IN COMMENTING ON GENERAL DE GAULLE'S STATEMENTS ON BIAFRA IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE SEPT 9, GOWON STATED HE REJECTED SGGESTION OF NIGERIAN CONFEDERATION AND WARNED FRANCE AGAINST RECOGNITION OF BIAFRA. GOWON ALSO SAID NEWSMEN HAD NOW SEEN FOR THEMSELVES THAT FMG NOT ATTEMPTING TO WIPE OUT IBOS. GOWON ALSO REPEATED HIS EARLIER PLEDGE TO GRANT AMNESTY TO REBELS BUT ADDED THAT OJUKWU QTE WOULD BE DEALT WITH ACCORDING TO LAW. UNQTE

4. BIAFRAC POST AND TIMES BOTH REPORT STATEMENTS BY RADIO BIAFRA THAT QTE CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY OF BIAFRA UNQTE CALLED INTO SESSION TO DISCUSS NEXT MOVE IN WAR. BOTH STATE SESSION ASKED OJUKWU TO SEVER ALL LINKS WITH BRITISH COMMONWEALTH (SEE FBIS 91540 SEPT 9) AND SEEK TIES WITH QTE FRENCH COMMUNITY. UNQTE POST ONLY, STATES THAT OJUKWU HAD BEEN QTE ADVISED BY DE GAULLE UNQTE TO TAKE FORMAL APPLICATION TO FRENCH COMMUNITY.

5. WAR: POST CARRIES ANOTHER FULL PAGE OF PICTURES PLUS REPORT ON ABA, PRAISING FMG FORCES, AND CALLING FALL OF ABA QTE BEGINNING OF END OF OJUKWU'S DREAM EMPIRE. UNQTE  
TIMES CARRIES TWO PAGES PICTURES OF LIBERATED TOWN PLUS TO

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 12511 110805Z

EYEWITNESS UNQTE REPORT FROM ITS CORRESPONDENT HEADLINED QTE PEOPLE OF ABA ARE SO FRIENDLY. UNQTE REPORTER SAYS 10,000 PEOPLE HAVE RETURNED TO ABA AND TROOPS PASSING OUT GARRI, STOCKFISH AND TINS OF MILK TO REFUGEES AND PEOPLE OF CITY.

B) TIMES FEATURES REPORT THAT ADEKUNLE COMMANDOES QTE CLOSING IN ON OVERRI, UNQTE PREDICTING FALL OF TOWN QTE THIS WEEK. UNQTE ALSO REPORTS THMT OGUTA HAS FALLEN. STATES THAT IN OGUTA OPERATION LARGE NUMBER OF REBELS CARRYING BRAND NEW WEAPONS INCLUDING FOREIGN-MANUFACTURED ROCKETS AND AUTOMATIC RIFLES IN CONTRAST WITH HOME-MADE RIFLES AND ROCKETS FORMERLY CARRIED.

6 ASIODU SPEECH: POST HAS EDITORIAL ON SPEECH MADE BY P.C. ASIODU, PERMSEC MINISTRY OF INDUSTRIES TO PUBLIC RELATIONS ASSOCIATION OF NIGERIA. QUOTES ASIODU AS SAYING NIGERIA HAS SPENT L100 MILLION IN LAST TWO YEARS ON WAR OUT OF ITS OWN POCKET WITHOUT GOING QTE CAP IN HAND TO BEG ANY OF DEVELOPED COUNTRIES UNQTE FOR AID. ASIODU STATED THAT THIS WAS CLEAR EVIDENCE THAT NIGERIAN PEOPLE WANT A UNITED NIGERIA AND THAT THEY SUPPORT FMG IN ALL STEPS TAKEN SO FAR TO ACCOMPLISH THIS END. STATES THAT SOON, WHEN GUNS ARE SILENT, TASK OF REHABILITATION AND RECONSTRUCTION WILL BE FACED. QTE WE ARE CERTAIN THAT PEOPLE ARE READY TO FACE TASK AHEAD WITH PRIDE AND CONFIDENT IN KNOWLEDGE THAT IN NO TIME AT ALL, NIGERIA OF THEIR DREAMS WILL EMERGE--A PROSPEROUS AND UNITED NIGERIA WHERE NO ONE IS OPPRESSED. UNQTE MATHEWS  
BTO

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Authority	VND959503
By	MMNARA Date 10/5/05

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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234898

9 SEP 68 20 112

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Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA  
LONDON  
PARIS  
US MISSION GENEVA  
USUN  
CINCSTRIKE  
Amconsul IBADAN  
Amconsul KADUNA

SUBJ: Nigeria Press Summary - September 6 - 9

1. Wash Star Sept 6 carries AP Lagos story on increased ICRC night airlift to Biafra. ICRC stepped up night flights as squabbling between Nigerian and Biafran governments continued delay start daytime feedlift. Lindt was in Biafra yesterday trying persuade secessionist leaders accept FMG condition for not interfering with planeloads food and medicine that they land at Biafran airstrip Annabelle. Lindt might return Lagos if two sides continue disagree on landing site. FMG military spokesman said we will not change our stand. Biafra broadcast proposal yesterday that mercy planes land at instead ~~at~~ Obilage airstrip in central Biafra. Biafra meanwhile admitted federal forces broke through defenses Aba, capture of which announced Wednesday by FMG.

2. Balt Sun Sept 7 carries Reuters Umuahia report Biafrans admit FMG breakthrough into Aba by troops operating east of Port Harcourt-Aba road. NYTimes carries special from Sao Tome ~~with~~ headed Biafran hospitals

Drafted by: *RL*  
AF/P:RLPerkins:mb 9/9/68

Tel. Ext. 2105

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: *RWM/GR* Nigerian Task Force - Mr. Melbourne

Clearances:

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8-65

0837

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Authority: VND 954503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/00

Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

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reported bombed. Medical personnel arriving Sao Tome with Biafran relief airlift reported Nigerian MIGS have bombed three hospitals leaving scores casualties among civilian patients. Doctor from hospital at ~~XXX~~ Ihiala said heaviest bombardment in his region, that 30 patients killed in beds and 60 other seriously injured in hospital bombing. Hospitals at Ozubulu and Nnewi bombed same day, both within 12-mile radius of Ihiala. According Swedish reports returning from Biafra central marketplace Ihiala also bombed with about 100 killed. Catholic priest said feds trying terrorize population into giving up. Travelers report ~~N~~ Nigerian aircraft have begun drop leaflets, with promise guarantee safety all civilians who sign leaflets and return them to FMG. Airlift pilots reported a Red Cross plane on daylight flight from Fernando Po crashed Tuesday while landing on road at Uzakali, north of Umuahia. None killed but crew members ~~h~~ said have been badly injured.

3. Wash Star Sept 8 carries UPI photo captioned Ibo tribesmen get food. FMG ~~xxxxxx~~ soldiers hand out food to Ibo civilians at market near Port Harcourt after Lagos govt permitted Red Cross planes fly in relief supplies to starving ~~xxxxxx~~ civilians. NYTimes carries picture story on Biafran stamps. Two series have been produced plus overprinting of Nigerian stamps which were in post offices. First multi-colored stamps issued Feb 5, 1968, designed by Biafran artists and printed by Portuguese State Security Printers, Lisbon. Second set issued May 30, 1968 for first independence anniversary, also by Portuguese printers. Of original Biafran stamps, 30,000 sets reported have been printed. Proceeds sale outside Biafra are channelled Biafran reps London for purchase medicines and other essentials, being handled through International Stamp Bureau, P.O. Box 38, London N.W.3. Biafran emissions will be recorded September issue Gibbons Stamp Monthly.

0838

Page 3 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

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4. NYTimes Magazine section Sept 8 carries lengthy Lloyd Garrison article entitled The Point of No Return for the Biafrans. Title relates to individual starvation. Copy being pouched Lagos. Much of material is requotes Garrison series at time his last trip Biafra, including detailed descriptions effects malnutrition and emotional reaction of Garrison himself and various ~~missionaries~~ missionaries to dying children. He cites VOA announcement US freighter has just left New Orleans with food and medicine for Biafra when latter has no seaport, and VOA citations Wash Post editorials which strongly support State Dept backing one Nigeria. If war were being fought in European context Biafrans might have logically concluded position hopeless and surrender. But this not case here. FMG atrocities as series Biafran towns captured cited. Garrison cites QTE show case UNQTE Nigerian policy of which chief architect said be Joseph Palmer. Garrison again describes operations Fourth Commando Brigade, under Lt. Col. Rolph Steiner, former French Foreign Legionnaire, and five other white officers. But of 7,000 men in Fourth, only 3,000 have arms, and lack ammunition. Adekunle quoted at length. Article concludes  
/XXXXXXXXX concludes odds against Biafran survival no better than 10 to 1. But if they collapse militarily, what's left of army and civilian population will take to bush as promised. Sporadic ambushes against occupation troops. For every Nigerian who dies from sniper's bullet, scores civilians will die in retribution. Hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions more will die of hunger. In time some Biafrans will straggle back to whatever left of their homes. Few civil servants will be found to head local Federal administration, semblance of normalcy will return, newsmen will be allowed in to report that relatively speaking all is well. World for a time will be permitted wash its hands of Biafra, but even with Nigerian

0839

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occupation Biafran struggle will not end.

5. Wash Post Sept 8 carries Aba story by John De St. Jorre of London Observer, describing 3rd division operations, which spearheading offensive on four fronts. Fed troops poised for assault on Oguta and within artillery range of Uli airfield, which Biafrans earlier denied Red Cross ~~mm~~ for daylight flights. But Adekunle did not intend shell Uli. Second column advancing on Owerri from south. But advance on Umuahia has been checked. Biafrans holding high ground overlooking Aba and have blown bridge over Ogor River on main road. Another threat from southeast where Adekunle division pushing forward ~~xxxxxxxx~~ though less rapidly. But with overwhelming weight FMG firepower, with new British armored cars, mortars and at least two 105-mm field guns, seems inevitable Biafrans who appear have nothing heavier than rifles and machine guns will soon be forced back. No sign of any serious guerrilla activity behind Nigerian lines or anywhere else in river area overrun by federal army. Situation on two northern fronts, Onitsha and Awgu, appears quieter, though there reports federal advance towards Okigwi. On Onitsha front Biafrans believed more than holding own. Army has not yet come across any significant number Ibo civilians, though several hundred Port Harcourt well looked after. Those still in Aba predominantly of minority ~~xxx~~ tribes. Port Harcourt still ghost town without running water, light and power, but civilian administration moving in and police taking over from army. Probably 20,000 people in area of prewar population 250,000. One of greatest difficulties now ~~xx~~ even assuming Ibos want to come back is problem of finding safe way through fighting lines is enormous and intimidating.

0840

Page 5 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

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6. A second Post story from Geneva headed hunger a plague for much of Africa. In opinion experts many parts of African and here where WHO headquartered, may be unfortunate flow of outside help aimed only at Biafran tragedy, a tiny if melodramatic part of older drama on vaster stage. At least third of all children born Africa die before age of five according 1967 WHO annual survey. In some countries figures much higher. Survey one area of peacetime western Nigeria put it at 468 per 1000, and some experts think 50 percent realistic estimate loss of children's lives. In one Nigerian village, 295.4 deaths per 1000 live births between ages one week and one year, and 277.2 deaths per thousand children living between ages one and four years. Comparable American figure in last category is 2 per 1000. That is just childhood deaths when no guns firing. Malnutrition according different surveys may cause 12 or 13 per cent child deaths. To combat these problems Africa needs help from outside world and often a different sense priorities about own efforts, needs them on scale beyond anything Nigerian civil war likely induce. Needs them not only to develop but indeed just to stay in same place because many, perhaps most, children who QTE recover UNQTE from starvation or ~~kwashiorkor~~ kwashiorkor have suffered irreversible brain and organic damage and ostensible cure does not make up for depleted human resources.

7. NYTimes Sept 9 reports from Paris loss of relief plane on Biafran mission. British-financed transport defying Nigerian blockade crashed last Tuesday in broad ~~day~~ daylight as it was dropping bags of powdered milk to refugee camps in Biafra. Reports on cause conflict. News of crash reported in telephone ~~interview~~ interview with Peter Cadogan, secretary of Mercy Missions which had

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chartered plane, and organizer of British-based Save Biafra Committee in London. Confirmed later today by ICRC representatives Fernando Po. According Cadogan, FMG said Saturday in Lagos its units had shot down the plane. But traveler from Biafra arriving in London informed Cadogan that plane crash landed near Umuahia after coming under Biafran anti-aircraft fire.

END

RUSK

FORM DS-322A  
8-63  
CONTINUATION SHEET

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*Classification*

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

37



PET 12 NIGERIA  
Department of State <sup>XR</sup> TELEGRAM

POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12473 091557Z

52  
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, GPM 04, NSC 10, SP 02, SS 25, RSC 01, L 03, H 02, P 04, USIA 12,

INR 07, CIAE 00, NSA 02, DODE 00, E 15, COM 08, TRSY 11, INT 06, NEA 13,

IO 13, SAH 02, SA 01, AID 28, RSR 01, 201 W

R 091519Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2458  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
ZNE/AMCONSUL KADUNA (POUCH)

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 12473

SUBJ: SHELL BP SHIPS CRUDE OIL FROM BONNY

REF: LAGOS 12350 *Pet 6 Nigeria*  
*TR POL 27 Biafra Nigeria*

1. SHELL BP LIFTED APPROXIMATELY 18,000 TONS CRUDE OIL FROM BONNY TERMINAL SEPT. 7 AS SCHEDULED. THERE WAS SMALL CEREMONY ABOARD TANKER INVOLVING SHELL BP MANAGER STANLY GRAY, AND LOCAL ARMY COMMANDER, COLONEL ADEKUNLE. COMPANY HAD NOT PLANNED PUBLICIZE BUT ADEKUNLE BROUGHT PRESS WITH HIM. ESTIMATED 700,000 TONS OF OIL WHICH HAS BEEN IN STORAGE SINCE BEFORE WAS REMAIN TO BE PICKED UP IN FUTURE TRIPS.

2. PRESS REPORTS IT IS HOPED THAT NEW PRODUCTION OF CRUDE FROM PORT HARCOURT AREA CAN BE STARTED BEFORE END OF YEAR. WHILE SHELL BP NOT MAKING ANY PROMISES ON THIS, WE THINK IT NOT UNLIKELY THAT SOME PRODUCTION FROM OILFIELDS CLOSEST TO BONNY CAN BE STARTED BY THAT TIME. PRESS REPORTS STATING THAT REFINERY HAS RESUMED OPERATIONS ARE FALSE.  
EXEMPT.  
MATHews

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*Aug 22 12473*  
*9-9-68*

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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SECRET 666

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05642 091937Z

45  
ACTION SS 70

INFO CCO 00,SSO 00,NSCE 00,DODE 00,CIAE 00,USIE 00,1070 W

O 091615Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
TO AMEMBASSY ACCRA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6964  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

SECRET ADDIS ABABA 5642

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: HIM MSG TO HEADS OF STATE

MOFA REQUESTS FOR MSG (IDENTICAL TEXT)  
BE DELIVERED BY ACTION ADDRESSEES TO RESPECTIVE  
HEADS OF STATE. IEG REQUESTS MSGS TO TUBMAN, MOBUTU, ANKRAH, AND  
GOWON BE TRANSMITTED TO LOCAL ETHIOPIAN EMBS FOR DELIVERY BY  
THEM TO RESPECTIVE HEADS OF STATE. MSGS TO DIORI AND AHIDJUE  
SHOULD BE DELIVERED DIRECTLY, SINCE NO ETHIOPIAN AMB PRESENT.

YOUR EXCELLENCY, I HAVE THE HONOUR TO REFER TO MY COMM-  
UNICATION OF 13TH AUG, 1968, BY WHICH I PRESENTED TO YOUR  
EXCELLENCY A REPORT ON THE DEVELOPMENT WITH RESPECT TO THE  
NIGERIAN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND INVITED YOU FOR A MEETING OF THE  
CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE IN ADDIS ABABA ON AUG 19, 1968, SO THAT WE  
COULD CONSULT AS TO WHAT FURTHER MEASURES WE COULD TAKE IN ORDER  
TO FULFILL THE MANDATE ENTRUSTED TO US BY THE FOURTH  
SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVT. IN KINSHASA.

AS YOUR EXCELLENCY IS AWARE, FOR STATE REASONS THE MEMBERS OF THE

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Albi Ababa 5642  
9-9-68

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05642 091937Z

CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE COULD NOT ASSEMBLE IN ADDIS ABABA AND I HAD, THEREFORE, TO CONTINUE THE WORK ALONE. THIS IS A FURTHER BRIEF REPORT ON THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS SINCE THAT TIME. THE DETAILS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE PRESENTED BY THE SECRETARIAT. IN THIS RESPECT I WANT TO RECALL TO YOUR EXCELLENCY THAT ON THE FIRST AND SECOND POINTS ON THE AGENDA, PROGRESS COULD NOT BE MADE IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE PARTIES DID NOT CHANGE THEIR POSITION DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS, AS STATED IN MY ABOVE-MENTIONED COMMUNICATION.

ACCORDINGLY, I CONCENTRATED SINCE THEN ON THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM, I.E. URGENT TRANSPORTATION OF RELIEF TO THE SUFFERING CIVILIAN VICTIMS OF THE CONFLICT. IN THIS RESPECT AGREEMENT SEEMED TO BE IN SIGHT AT THE VARIOUS STAGES OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BUT COULD NOT MATERIALIZE IN FULL AS THE TWO PARTIES DRIFTED APART WHEN DISCUSSING DETAILS. THUS, FIRST I SUBMITTED BROAD AIR AND LAND CORRIDOR PROPOSALS AND, AFTER LISTENING TO THE TWO SIDES, THEN PRESENTED THAN A COMPROMISE PROPOSAL. BOTH SIDES IMMEDIATELY ACCEPTED IN PRINCIPLE THIS COMPROMISE PROPOSAL AND DISCUSSION ENDED ON THE DETAILS.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THERE WAS AGREEMENT, THE OBSERVATIONS AND OBJECTIONS OF EACH SIDE, I SUBMITTED TO THEM A SECOND SET OF COMPROMISE PROPOSALS ON AIR AND LAND CORRIDORS. THESE PROPOSALS CONTAINED SPECIFIC AIR AND LAND ROUTES THROUGH WHICH RELIEF SUPPLIES WOULD BE TRANSPORTED. DURING DISCUSSION ON THE DETAILS THERE REMAINED SOME POINTS ON WHICH WE CONTINUED TO WORK. I HOPE WHEN THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE MEETS IN ALGIERS TO CONSIDER THE REPORT OF THE SECRETARIAT, REMAINING DETAILS CAN BE WORKED OUT.

AT THIS STAGE I FELT IT MY DUTY TO ATTEMPT TO SECURE AGREEMENT ON AN EMERGENCY AIRLIFT DIRECT FROM FERNANDO PO TO THE OTHER SIDE IN ORDER TO RUSH RELIEF TO THE SUFFERING PEOPLE. IN THIS I WAS ABLE TO SECURE, BY COMMUNICATION OF SEPT 2, 1968, THE AGREEMENT OF THE FEDERAL MIL GOVT. OF NIGERIA ON THE DIRECT TRANSPORTATION OF RELIEF FROM FERNANDO PO TO ULI AIRSTRIP ON THE OTHER SIDE. ON SEPT 3, 1968, THE FEDERAL DELOF NIGERIA DELIVERED A MSG TO ME FROM THE HEAD OF THE FEDERAL MIL GOVT OF NIGERIA TO THE EFFECT THAT IN ORDER TO MAKE POSSIBLE DIRECT FLIGHT FROM FERNANDO PO TO THE OTHER SIDE, HE HAS AGREED!

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03 ADDIS 05642 091937Z

DATO DAY LIGHT TIME TRANSPORTATION OF RELIEF BY THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS FROM FERNANDO PO TO ULI AIRSTRIP.

I THEN ATTEMPTED TO GET THE AGREEMENT OF THE OTHER SIDE TO ADMIT THE ARRANGEMENT WHEREBY THE ULI AIRSTRIP WOULD BE USED DURING DAY LIGHT TIME. THE OTHER SIDE WELCOMED DIRECT FLIGHT FROM FERNANDO PO BUT INSISTED THAT THE AIRSTRIP SHOULD BE O-BILAGO. I WAS STILL WORKING TO COMPLETE THIS ARRANGEMENT WHEN WE ADJOURNED. IN THIS RESPECT IT IS MY FERVENT HOPE THAT THIS DETAIL CAN BE SETTLED SO THAT THE CIVILIAN VICTIMS OF THE CONFLICT WOULD URGENTLY GET THE RELIEF SUPPLIES PENDING A MORE PERMANENT SOLUTION TO THE THIRD POINT OF THE AGENDA OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND EVEN A SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT ITSELF.

IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS I HAVE URGED THE TWO PARTIES TO REPOSE MORE TRUST IN EACH OTHER AND IN THE INTERNATIONAL TEAM OF SUPERVISORS THAT I HAVE PROVIDED IN MY LATEST PROPOSALS TO IMPLEMENT AND SUPERVISE THE ARRANGEMENTS.

I HAVE ENDEAVOURED TO IMPRESS ON BOTH PARTIES THAT A SOLUTION TO THE HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM AS WELL AS THE FIRST AND SECOND ITEMS ON THE AGENDA LIE IN THE WILLINGNESS AND UNDERSTANDING THAT EACH SIDE SHOWS TO THE OTHER. I HAVE EMPHASIZED TO THEM THAT THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE CANNOT IMPOSE A SETTLEMENT BUT CAN HELP THE PARTIES TO SETTLE CERTAIN DIFFERENCES. PLEASE ACCEPT YOUR EXCELLENCY THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATIONS AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM. YOUR GOOD FRIEND HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR. UNQTE. HALL

COMMUNICATION'S NOTE: THIS MSG WAS EDITED IN PART TO INSURE BREVITY IN XMISSION.

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L I M D I S  
I N C O M I N G

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MilRep 1  
Summary 1  
Task Force 1

Principals

ES 2  
S 1  
U 1  
M 2  
G 1  
SIG 1  
S/AH 3  
S/AL 1  
SA 1  
S/CPR 1  
S/GOV 1  
S/IL 1  
S/P 1  
S/R 1  
S/FW 1  
S/PM 1  
M/WP 1  
G/PM 1

Geographic

AF5 X 5  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 9  
NEA 7

Functional

CU  
E 2  
H  
IGA  
INR 6  
IO4 4  
L2  
O3  
OPR  
OC  
SY  
WLG  
P2 12  
SCA  
SCS  
SCI

OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10  
CIA P  
DOD P  
USIA P  
NSA P

Other

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR2 2  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2  
PC  
VP  
AEC3  
AGK3  
COM2  
EXIM  
FRB  
LAB  
NASA  
NIC  
STR  
TRANS  
TRSY6  
JUS  
IRS  
INT  
BOB  
FBI  
CEA  
FAA  
File  
Burned

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TELEGRAM

POL 7 NIGERIA 29

POL 7 NIGERIA - MOR

POL 7 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 RABAT 05980 091608Z

A7  
ACTION AF 15

INFO IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01,

SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, AID 28, PC 04, RSR 01, 133: W1

R 091506Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY RABAT  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5280  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE RABAT 5980

SUBJ: VISIT TO MOROCCO OF NIGERIAN MINICOMMUNICATIONS

1. MAMOUN AL FASSI, ACTING DIRECTOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS MFA, CONFIRMED TO EMBOFF SEPTEMBER 9. ACCURACY OF LOCAL PRESS REPORTS THAT AMINOU KANO, NIGERIAN MINICOMMUNICATIONS, DELIVERED MESSAGE FOR KING TO ACTING MINFON AFFAIRS DRISS SLAOUI SEPTEMBER 3. AL FASSI ADDED THAT PURPOSE OF VISIT WAS TO PREPARE FOR OPENING OF NIGERIAN EMBASSY IN RABAT.

2. KANO REPORTEDLY MADE PUBLIC STATEMENT OF APPRECIATION FOR GOM ATTITUDE TOWARD FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA SEPTEMBER 7.

3. COMMENT: GOM HAS ADHERED FIRMLY TO POLICY OF NON-RECOGNITION OF BIAFRA AND HAS ADVOCATED RESTORATION OF NIGERIAN UNITY. TASCA.

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46



POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 ALGIER 02188 100057Z

92  
ACTION: AF: 16

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,  
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04,  
SCA 02, AID 28, RSR 01, SAH 02, /157 W

R 091725Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3495  
INFO: USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE: ALGIERS 2188

SUBJECT: NIGERIA

FOLLOWING ARE ESSENTIAL POINTS OF INTERVIEW GRANTED BY  
NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ARIKPO TO ALGERIAN PAPER "LA  
REPUBLIQUE" AND CARRIED BY APS SEPT 9.

1. QUESTION: "HOW CAN OAU CONTRIBUTE TO FIND SOLUTION TO  
PROBLEM WITHOUT EXCEEDING ITS JURISDICTION AND WITHOUT  
BETRAYING ITS PRINCIPLES?"

REPLY: "HIS EXCELLENCY, THE PRESIDENT OF THE ALGERIAN  
REPUBLIC IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS SET THE TONE FOR ANY  
CONSIDERATION OF THE NIGERIAN CRISIS, WHEN HE DREW THE  
ATTENTION OF THE DELEGATES TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONSPIRACY  
OF WHICH NIGERIA IS VICTIM. NO REFERENCE HAS BEEN MADE  
BY ANY DELEGATE CONCERNING THE SITUATION BECAUSE IT IS  
A SUBJECT BELONGING EXCLUSIVELY WITHIN THE COMPETENCE OF THE  
HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT TO WHOM THE COMMITTEE OF SIX  
WILL MAKE A REPORT AT THE TIME OF THE NEXT CONFERENCE.  
THE BEST WAY FOR THE OAU TO CONTRIBUTE TO A SOLUTION WOULD  
BE TO MAKE AN APPEAL, IN A DEMONSTRATION OF UNANIMITY, TO  
REBELS IN ORDER THEY RENOUNCE SECESSION AND RETURN TO

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9-9-68

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NIGERIAN FAMILY."

2. ARIKPO SAID MILITARY OPERATIONS WOULD BE TERMINATED IN SEVERAL WEEKS. ONLY TWO TOWNS OF IMPORTANCE REMAIN IN REBEL HANDS, BUT WILL SOON BE LIBERATED. WHEN THIS IS DONE, MILITARY CAMPAIGN CAN BE CONSIDERED OVER, AND THERE WILL REMAIN ONLY ISOLATED AND DISORGANIZED REBEL BANDS WHICH WILL BE SURROUNDED AND BROUGHT BACK TO NORMAL LIFE. ONCE REBELLION IS CRUSHED, REPS OF 12 STATES WILL MEET FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION.

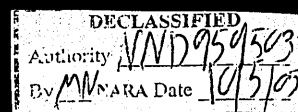
3. ADDED AFRICAN COUNTRIES RECOGNIZING SECESSIONIST REGIME HAD CAUSED GREAT PREJUDICE TO NIGERIA. THEY HAD IGNORED OAU CHARTER AND LET THEMSELVES BE RECRUITED BY NEO-COLONIALIST INTERESTS. "THERE COULD BE NO BETTER SERVICE TO NIGERIA AS MEMBER STATE, NOR FOR REBELS FROM HUMANITARIAN VIEWPOINT THAN FOR AFRICA TO MAKE APPEAL TO SECESSIONISTS TO PUT DOWN THEIR ARMS AND RETURN TO PATH OF PEACE AND REASON."

4. ALSO DESCRIBED FEDERAL GOVT'S REHABILITATION PLANS.

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POL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12476 091902Z

51

ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CCO 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00,

USIE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25,

AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 02, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, 140 W

P R 091559Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2459  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NY  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 12476

SUBJECT: PROGRESS OF NIGERIAN WAR

REF: LAGOS 12455

1. REFTEL IS USINFO REPORT BY KELLY. DATT IS  
CABLING FURTHER PERTINENT MILITARY INFORMATION OBTAINED  
FROM KELLY.

2. KELLY REPORTS THAT OVER 1000 CIVILIANS NOW IN ABA,  
ABOUT HALF OF THEM IBOS, ACCORDING TO IBO KELLY  
ENCOUNTERED. IBO PREDICTED MANY MORE WOULD APPEAR  
WHEN THEY HEARD FEDERAL ARMY DISTRIBUTING FOOD IN  
CITY.  
MATHEWS

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
TR DEF 19 UK NIGERIA  
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CONFIDENTIAL 631

PAGE 01 LAGOS 12479 091907Z

53

ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01

SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SA 01, SAL 01, SAH 02, SR 01, AID 28, MC 01,

ACDA 16, SCS 04, SCA 02, RSR 01, 170 W

R 091700Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2461  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NY  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFSA  
DIA

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 12479

SUBJECT: BRITISH GUIDANCE ON ARMS TO NIGERIA

1. UK HICOM (PROTECT) HAS GIVEN US TELEGRAM OF  
SEPTEMBER 6 FROM LONDON CONTAINING GUIDANCE ON FMG  
ANNOUNCEMENT OF RESUMPTION OF MILITARY OPERATIONS.

2. TEXT FOLLOWS:

A) IF ASKED WHETHER THE RESUMPTION OF MILITARY OPERATIONS  
AFFECTS BRITAIN POLICY ON THE SUPPLY OF ARMS TO NIGERIA,  
YOU SHOULD REFER TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARY'S STATEMENT IN  
THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON 12 JUNE. IN THE COURSE OF HIS  
SPEECH THE FOREIGN SECRETARY SAID, QTE IF WE MAKE THE  
SUPPOSITION THAT IT WERE THE INTENTION OF THE FEDERAL  
GOVERNMENT NOT MERELY TO PRESERVE THE UNITY OF NIGERIA BUT  
TO PROCEED WITHOUT MERCY EITHER WITH THE SLAUGHTER OR THE  
STARVATION OF THE IBO PEOPLE OR IF WE WERE TO MAKE THE  
SUPPOSITION THAT IT WERE THE INTENTION OF THE FEDERAL GOVE-  
RNMENT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF A PARTICULAR MILITARY SITUATION  
IN ORDER TO THROW ASIDE WITH CONTEMPT ANY TERMS OF REASON-  
ABLE SETTLEMENT THEN INDEED THE ARGUMENTS WHICH JUSTIFIED THE

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 12479 091907Z

POLICY WE HAVE SO FAR PURSUED WOULD FALL AND WE WOULD HAVE TO RECONSIDER AND MORE THAN RECONSIDER THE ACTION WE HAVE SO FAR TAKEN. UNQTE

B) WE HAVE NO EVIDENCE OF MASSACRE AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS DEMONSTRATED ITS ABHORRENCE OF THE ISOLATED ATROCITIES THAT HAVE CME TO LIGHT BY THE SWIFT PUNISHMENT OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE. IN ADDITION, TO REASSURE WORLD OPINION, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS INITIED INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS TO FOLLOW THE MILITARY OPERATIONS, AS FOR STARVATION, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS REACHED AGREEMENT WITH THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS FOR DIRECT DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS INTO "BIAFRA" AND IS STILL ANXIOUS TO CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT FOR A SURFACE CORRIDOR, AND FAR FROM THROWING ASIDE ANY TERMS OF REASONABLE SETTLEMENT, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS CONSISTENTLY DECLARED ITS HOPE THAT A SETTLEMENT CAN BE ARRANGED.

C) IT HAS NEGOTIATED IN KAMPALA AND NIAMEY AND IS STILL NEGOTIATING IN ADDIS ABABA.

GP-3.

MATHEWS

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12462 091744Z

49

ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03,

SCA 02, SCSE 00, SAH 02, E 15, INT 06, RSR 01, 173 W

R 091207Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2454  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA UNN  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA UNN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA UNN  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY UNN  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE UNN  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA

UNCLAS LAGOS 12462

SUBJECT: - NIGERIAN PRESS ROUND-UP SEPTEMBER 8 AND 9

1. WAR: TIMES, POST AND SKETCH FEATURE REPORTS ON ABA. CITY REPORTEDLY NOT BADLY DAMAGED AS WAS ONITSHA AND PORT HARCOURT AND LIFE BEGINNING RETURN TO NORMALITY. REPORTS SAY NO SIGN OF BOMBING AS BIAFRANS HAD CLAIMED. TIMES REPORTS 500 IBOS RETURNED TO CITY IN ONE 24-HOUR PERIOD AND OVER 2,000 HAVE RETURNED TO VILLAGES SOUTH OF ABA. FMG TROOPS PASSING OUT FOOD AND OTHER RELIEF SUPPLIES TO CIVILIANS AND REFUGEES. SKETCH REPORTS STILL NO ELECTRICITY OR WATER IN ABA. POST AND TIMES REPORT FMG PUSH PROCEEDING SATISFACTORILY TOWARD OWERRI, NNEWI AND OKIGIWI. TIMES REPORTS RADIO BIAFRA CLAIM THAT OWERRI WAS BOMBED SEPT 7. POST REPORTS BIAFRAN 12TH DIVISION UNDER COL. EZE RETREATING VIA NORTH BANK ABA RIVER TOWARD UMUAHIA. POST CARRIES

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 12462 091744Z

TWO-PAGE TEXT OF LORD MILVERTON'S SPEECH IN HOUSE OF LORDS DEFENDING FMG.

2. RELIEF: A) POST REPORTS THAT S. GONARD, PRESIDENT, LADY LIMMERICK, VICE CHAIRMAN AND H. BEER, SECRETARY GENERAL OF ICRC EXPECTED TO ARRIVE IN NIGERIA THIS WEEK IN CONNECTION WITH RELIEF SUPPLIES FOR WAR VICTIMS.

B) POST REPORTS STATEMENTS OF A. VAN EMDEN, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF DUTCH RED CROSS IN AMSTERDAM, BLAMING REBELS FOR FAILURE OF ICRC ALSO REPORTS CONTINUATION OF ICRC NIGHT FLIGHTS OF RELIEF SUPPLIES TO BOTH OBILAGU AND ULI-ITHIALA AIRSTRIPS WITH NO IMMEDIATE PROSPECT OF DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS BECAUSE OF REBELS REFUSAL TO ACCEPT FMG-ICRC AGREEMENT.

C) TIMES REPORTS THAT AT LEAST ONE NIGERIAN SHIP PER WEEK ARRIVES IN PORT HARCOURT WITH LOCAL RELIEF SUPPLIES. STATES

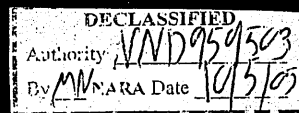
3. THERE ARE OVER 10,000 BAGS OF GARRI, RICE AND OTHER STAPLES IN SHEDS AT PH WAITING TO BE DISTRIBUTED. POST CARRIES SIGNED ARTICLE PRAISING FMG FOR CONCERN FOR QTE SUFFERING MASSES UNQTE IN REBEL-HELD AREAS BY GRANTING ICRC PERMISSION TO USE ULI-ITHIALA AIRSTRIP FOR DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS. ATTACKS REBELS FOR REJECTION OF OFFER AND CALLS ON ICRC TO START USING IMMEDIATELY LAND CORRIDORS ALSO AND QTE SEE IF REBELS WILL BE CRAZY ENOUGH TO REFUSE TO TOUCH FOOD JUST BECAUSE IT CAME BY LAND. UNQTE

4. OIL: TIMES REPORT CEREMONY AT BONNY SEPT 7 WHEN 18,000 TONS OF OIL FROM STORAGE TANKS THERE LOADED ON DUTCH TANKER. THIS IS FIRST OIL LOADED SINCE JULY 1967 FROM SHELL-BP STORAGE TANKS. REPORT STATES THAT OVER 100,000 TONS IN STORAGE THERE AWAITING SHIMENT, AND IT IS HOPED THAT NEW PRODUCTION OF CRUDE OIL MIGHT START BEFORE END OF THIS YEAR. POST CARRIES CONFUSED ACCOUNT OF CEREMONY WHICH STATES ERRONEOUSLY THAT REFINERY PRODUCTION WAS LAUNCHED.

5. DAME MARGERY PERHAM: TIMES, POST AND SKETCH ALL REPORT STATEMENTS BY DAME MARGERY PERHAM AT END OF HER VISIT TO NIGERIA. DAME MARGERY CALLED ON OJUKWU AND REBELS TO REALIZE THEY HAVE LOST THE WAR AND GIVE UP SECESSION IN ORDER TO SAVE LIVES OF SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS IN REBEL AREAS. IN OPEN STATEMENT ADDRESSED TO OJUKWU SHE SAID THAT AFTER HER VISIT TO ALL AREAS OF NIGERIA SHE

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 12462 091744Z

DID NOT BELIEVE THAT IBOS FACE MASSACRE OR REVENGE FROM FMG IF THEY SURRENDER.

6 ADDIS TALKS: POST REPORTS STATEMENTS BY J.E. ADETORO, FEDERAL COMMISSIONER FOR HEALTH, DURING VISIT TO NIAMEY, THAT HE SAW NO HOPE FOR SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME TO ADDIS PEACE TALKS. MATHEWS

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0856

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MN NARA Date 10/5/05

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE

Info:

STATE

REF: Lagos 12455

There have been growing number of reports of news correspondents with Federal troops in action such as at Aba. Request information on current FMG policy re presence of correspondents at fighting fronts together with what on number information available and location of these correspondents. Request reply by September 10 for possible use in Congressional hearing.

END

RUSK

Drafted by:

AFW:RM Melbourne:emb 9/9/68

Tel. Ext. 2619

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

AFW - Roy M. Melbourne  
Nigeria Task Force

Clearance:

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12459 091605Z

52

ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SAH 02, SA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 25, USA 12,

AID 28, SCSE 00, SCA 02, CU 04, EI 15, DOT 10, ACDA 16, NIC 01, RSR 01,

1200 W

R 091045Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2451  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA UNN  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA UNN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
ZNE/AMEMBASSY MONROVIA UNN  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY UNN  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE UNN  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA

UNCLAS LAGOS 12459

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUND-UP SEPTEMBER 7

1. ALGIERS: POST AND TIMES REPORT NIGERIA'S ELECTION AS RAPPOREUR TO POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF CONFERENCE. TIMES AND TRIBUNE CARRY REUTERS' REPORT ON DIWLO TELLI REPORT. POST AND TIMES REPORT ARIKPO MEETING WITH BOUMEDIENNE AND POST AND SKETCH REPORT ARIKPO INTERVIEW ON ALGERIAN RADIO. SKETCH GIVES BIG PLAY TO NYERERE'S ANNOUNCEMENT HE WILL NOT ATTEND ALGIERS SUMMIT. ATTRIBUTES DECISION TO COOLNESS TO BOUMEDIENNE REGIME AND LIKELY TREND OF DEBATE AGAINST BIAFRA.

2. OBSERVERS: POST REPORTS LORD HUNT DECLINED TO SERVE AS UK

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28

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 12459 091605Z

OBSERVER BECAUSE OF OTHER COMMITMENTS AND TIMES REPORTS APPOINTMENT OF MAJOR GENERAL HENRY TEMPLER ALEXANDER AS BRITISH OBSERVER.

3. STRIKE: POST, TIMES, SKETCH AND TRIBUNE ALL CARRY LEAD STORIES THAT NIGERIAN UNION OF TEACHERS (NUT) MIGHT STRIKE IF FMG DOES NOT ACT ON TEACHERS GRIEVANCES. POST CARRIES EDITORIAL CALLING ON UNIONS TO BE REASONABLE IN PRESSING DEMANDS BECAUSE OF GRAVE CONDITIONS AND SACRIFICES DEMANDED OF ALL IN TIME OF WAR, AND FOR EMPLOYERS NOT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF CONDITIONS TO THEIR PERSONAL GAIN IN DISPUTES WITH WORKERS.

4. RELIEF: POST, SKETCH AND TIMES CARRY STATEMENTS BY U. ASIKA, ADMINISTRATOR FOR ENUGU AND LIBERATED AREAS OF EAST CENTRAL STATE, ACCUSING REBELS OF QTE CONTINUED IRRESPONSIBILITY AND CALLOUSNESS UNQTE IN REJECTING USE OF ULI-IHIALA AIRSTRIP FOR DAYLIGHT RELIEF SUPPLIES. POST AND SKETCH REPORT THAT ICBC HAS RECEIVED SIX MORE PLANES FOR RELIEF FLIGHTS BUT THAT THEY ARE STILL ONLY BEING USED AT NIGHT. TIMES REPORTS PLANS OF QTE TERRE DES HOMMES UNQTE TO FLY 1200 ORPHANS TO GABON FROM REBEL AREAS.

5. WAR: POST CARRIES TWO-PAGE CENTER SPREAD OF PICTURES FROM LIBERATED ABA SHOWING FEEDING AND HELP FOR REFUGEES, AND SOLDIERS ENTERING TOWN. REPORTS TROOPS NOW MOVING ON TOWARD OWERRI. TIMES REPORTS THAT EXECUTION OF LIEUTENANT WHO SHOT UNARMED SURRENDERING IBO WAS SHOWN ON BBC-TV. SKETCH REPORTS THAT ORDERS HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO 2ND DIVISION TO MOVE OUT OF AWKA TO ATTACK NNEWI THEN ORLU.

6. BANJO DISAPPEARANCE: TIMES REPORTS THAT UGANDANI POLICE HAVE DEFINITELY IDENTIFIED BODY FOUND IN SWAMP NEAR KAMPALA AS BODY OF JOHNSON BANJO WHO DISAPPEARED FROM FMG DELEGATION DURING KAMPALA TALKS IN MAY. BODY WILL BE RETURNED TO NIGERIA. CASE IS STILL UNSOLVED. MATHEWS

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Pal 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
XX Pal 27 Biafra-Nigeria 3

43

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PAGE 01 USUN N 06445 100237Z

85  
ACTION IO 15

INFO AF 10, EUR 15, AID 28, ORM 03, SR 01, SAH 02, SA 01, ARA 08, EA 10,  
NEA 13, RSC 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10,  
P 04, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, ACDA 16, SAL 01, RSR 01, 196 W

R 092339Z SEP 68  
FM USMISSION USUN NY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3102  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
USMISSION GENEVA

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NIGERIA

1. SUSAN DURR OF THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO KEEP BIAFRA ALIVE CALLED ON MISOFF WITH TWO ASSOCIATES TO SUBMIT MEMORANDUM PREPARED BY PROF. REISMAN OF YALE UNIVERSITY RE URGENT GA CONSIDERATION OF HUMANITARIAN RELIEF TO NIGERIA. MEMO WAS ALSO SEND PRES. JOHNSON AND SECRETARY OF STATE. IN ADDITION TO MEMORANDUM DURR GAVE MISOFF COPY OF PETITION TO BALL. FOL IS TEXT OF PETITION SIGNED BY PAUL CONNETT, CHAIRMAN FOR THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO KEEP BIAFRA ALIVE:

"AS IT HAS BECOME ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT NIGERIA IS WAGING A WAR OF GENOCIDE AGAINST BIAFRA, WE DEMAND THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IMMEDIATELY MOVE FOR AN EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OR MAKE THE BIAFRAN CRISIS A MATTER OF URGENT AGENDS ATTENTION TO INITIATE HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION IN BIAFRA AND TO UNDERTAKE SUCH HUMANITARIAN ACTION OR DESIGNATE OTHER AGENCIES TO DO SO."

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02541 101042Z

17  
ACTION AF 16

INFO NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,  
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SAH 02, IO 13, SRI 01, ORM 03, EUR 15,  
SCS 04, SCA 02, RSRI 01, /129 W

R 091720Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2243  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LOME  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE NIAMEY 2541

SUBJ: NIGERIA

1. JOHN VOLKMAR WHO SAID HE DIRECTOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUES FROM  
LOME OFFICE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE TOLD EMBOFF HE CALLING  
ON PRESIDENT DIORI HIS OWN INITIATIVE SEPTEMBER 9 AND THEN GOING  
ADDIS ABABA VIA PARIS ORDER SEE BIAFRAN DELEGATION CHIEF ENI NUOKU.

2. HE SAID QUAKERS "HAVE BEEN WORKING IN CONFIDENCE FOR A YEAR"  
REGARDING BIAFRA.  
ADAMS

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By MNA Date 10/5/05

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

SECRET/EXDIS ATTACHMENT

September 7, 1968

U - Mr. Homme

Attached is a Memorandum of Conversation between the Under Secretary and Mr. Edward E. Tomkins, Minister, British Embassy, September 4.

For approval prior to distribution.

The Under Secretary's remarks are sidelined in red.

This memorandum was drafted in AF/AFW - Mr. Smith.

*Distilled*  
Benjamin H. Read  
Executive Secretary

Approved for distribution POA  
Approved for distribution  
as amended \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment:

Possible Joint US-UK Approach  
to Emperor of Ethiopia on  
Nigerian War

SECRET/EXDIS ATTACHMENT

S/S-S:DGleysteen:ajg 9/7/68

POC 27 Briefing - Virginia

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Authority VND 959503  
By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05

Approved in U. 9/9/68

~~SECRET/EXDIS~~

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

12196

**Memorandum of Conversation**

DATE: September 4, 1968  
TIME: 11:30

**SUBJECT:** Possible Joint US-UK Approach to Emperor of Ethiopia  
on Nigerian War.

**PARTICIPANTS:** Mr. Edward E. Tomkins, Minister, British Embassy  
Mr. Robert Owen, Second Secretary, British Embassy

The Under Secretary  
Mr. Joseph Palmer 2nd, Assistant Secretary, AF  
Mr. Oliver L. Troxel, INR/RAF  
Mr. Robert P. Smith, Alternate Country Director, AF/W

**COPIES TO:** S/S INR/OD EUR  
G WH - 2 DOD  
U CIA Amembassy ADDIS ABABA  
M AF - 2 Amembassy LAGOS

Mr. Tomkins said he was calling under instructions to convey to the Under Secretary the importance the British Government attaches to the proposal outlined in London on August 23 by Ambassador Moore and Mr. Troxel. He said the British entirely share our objectives but that they had some concerns which he wanted to discuss. There was, for instance, the possibility of serious embarrassment to the UK-FMG relations should the proposal not succeed after the British stopped its arms supply. In this connection, he wondered what the US thought of the Emperor's chances of getting agreement between the two sides.

The Under Secretary stated that we understood and shared the British concern, particularly since we realize the political cost to the British Government in maintaining its present posture on arms supply. Our thinking is based on the hope that if the Emperor does not succeed in his present efforts and the present military offensive stalls, there might then be some other way of putting pressure on the two sides to resolve the dispute. We thought our proposal might be one possible way of accomplishing this. Mr. Katzenbach observed that the specter of starvation in Biafra and the possibility of Federal troops getting out of hand would put tremendous pressures on the arms suppliers. In short, the British might have to stop supplying arms anyway and under much more difficult circumstances.

Mr. Palmer noted that the proposal was quite favorable to the FMG. If the French went along with the proposal, this would bring pressures on the Biafrans which would perhaps cause them to be more realistic. Mr. Tomkins agreed but said London's concern was that the British might comply while the

AF:AFW:RPSmith:ba 9/5/68  
(Drafting Office and Officer)

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~~SECRET / EXDIS~~

Pol 27  
Biafra - Nigeria  
UK-US

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MVA/ARA Date: 10/5/05

SECRET / EXDIS

-2-

Russians and French "cheat". He stressed the importance of having the agreement of both sides and asked whether we had some reason to believe that there might soon be such an agreement or whether we only hoped enough pressure could be brought to bear to force it. The Under Secretary responded that our hope was that pressure might do it; we frankly had no reason at this time to hope for an early agreement. He therefore found the British concern quite understandable and agreed that the appeals to the two sides could be made simultaneously. He added that we simply do not know how the Russians would react but believe an African initiative might cause them serious problems if they don't comply. He observed that there were techniques available to the Emperor to find out in advance who would comply, one of which would be to make the approaches privately on a conditional basis and ask for their answers.

Mr. Tomkins said that the timing of the approach to the Emperor was very important and that it would have to be handled with extreme tact to avoid any appearance of telling him what to do. In this connection, London had one idea which might be helpful. Malcolm MacDonald is now scheduled to arrive in Addis Ababa on September 9. He might make a discreet preliminary approach to the Emperor to sound out what the Emperor has in mind. When he reported back, we would then be in a better position to decide what the next step should be and eliminate the risk of crossing any of the Emperor's own initiatives, perhaps at the OAU meeting in Algiers. MacDonald, in discussing this subject with the Emperor, could also explore with him the support we might give him in any such initiative.

The Under Secretary observed that it would be awkward to be too explicit with the Emperor and agreed such a discreet approach by MacDonald would be useful. Mr. Palmer noted that an approach to the two sides before one to the four powers would almost give them a veto over the proposal. Mr. Tomkins agreed but said they should at least be made aware of the fact that HIM had a plan in mind before the approach to the great powers. The Under Secretary said that the proposal must have African support to bring to bear the necessary pressures; Mr. Palmer added that the Emperor would probably feel the need to consult with the other members of the OAU Consultative Committee on Nigeria in any case and that this would provide an indication of African support.

Noting that the Emperor would not have much to lose even if his plans leaked to the two sides before they were approached, the Under Secretary suggested that the sequence might be an approach to the Africans first, followed by one to the four powers and the two sides simultaneously. He added that even if the Russians gave an equivocal answer to the Emperor, the latter could subsequently announce that he had obtained the agreement of the arms suppliers and perhaps force the Russians to agree.

Mr. Tomkins attached great importance to avoiding a situation in which the war continues and the UK is forced to stop selling arms while the Russians continue. He added that the Soviets are not likely to want to jeopardize their recently strengthened position in Nigeria. Mr. Palmer noted that they stood to lose elsewhere in Africa, however, if they ignored an appeal for an arms embargo.

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SECRET/EXDIS

-3-

Mr. Tomkins reiterated the British view that it is important that the plan be put to the two sides and that there be some prospect of their accepting it before proceeding. The Under Secretary agreed that this would be another reason for having Mr. MacDonald sound out the Emperor, particularly since the latter will want to consult with other Africans and time is very short. He said we recognize the difficulties involved in what is admittedly not an airtight scheme and that Mr. MacDonald would be an ideal man to undertake the exploratory mission with the Emperor. The Under Secretary accepted Mr. Tomkins' suggestion that we have another talk with the British when MacDonald's report is received.

The Under Secretary told Mr. Tomkins that we shared London's view that the FMG proposal for only one observer from each participant is ridiculous. However, he expressed the hope that the problem might be overcome by simply assuming that it meant "one team" of observers. While keeping any such approach affirmative, and avoiding any negotiation with the FMG on the number of observers, perhaps the British could increase the number by designating "sub-observers" or "alternates" to accompany the principal.

The Under Secretary welcomed the reported agreement between Lindt and Gowon on an ICRC airlift into Biafra and said he hoped Lindt would now pressure the Biafrans to accept the land corridor as well.

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I. CONTROL		
Classification <u>SECRET</u> Control No. <u>12196</u> Date <u>9/4/68</u>		
Description <u>MemCon between The Under Secretary and Edward E. Tomkins, Minister, British Embassy. SUBJECT: Possible Joint US-UK Approach to <del>XXX</del> Emperor of Ethiopia on Nigerian War</u>		
Distribution Approved By: <u>U</u> Date <u>9/9/68</u>		
Distribution Made By: <u>PW/leb</u> Date <u>9/9/68</u>		
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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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## OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TOCONFIDENTIAL  
Classification

PRIORITY

Origin

ACTION:

American Embassies, ADDIS ABABA

ALGIERS

LAGOS

LONDON

U.S. MISSION GENEVA

USUN

Info:

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Assistant Secretary Palmer testifying morning September 11 before meeting of African Sub-Committee of Senate Foreign Relations Committee called by Senator McCarthy. Addressee posts should make ~~xxx~~ every effort to report most recent developments in Nigerian-Biafran conflict and relief effort promptly and fully so that Palmer will have latest available info.

END

RUSK

MICROFILMED BY RS/R

Draled by:

AFW:RPS:gjm 9/7/68

Tel. Ext.

6402

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

R.M. Melbourne, Nigerian Task Force

AF:JPalmer 2nd (Subs)

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8-65

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By

MVA Date

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10/5/05

37



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State <sup>XR</sup> **TELEGRAM**

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA <sup>20</sup>

CONFIDENTIAL 987

PAGE 01 LAGOS 12430 061743Z

49  
ACTION IO 15

INFO AF 09, EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 02, SCS 04,

SAH 02, RSR 01, 152 W

R 061630Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2435  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
CINCSRIKE/CINCEAFSA  
DIA

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 12430

SUBJECT: NIGERIA

REF: (A) USUN 6377; (B) LAGOS 12375

1. SWEDISH AMBASSADOR SWARTZ, WHO WAS ASKED TO CUT SHORT HIS LEAVE AND RETURN TO LAGOS BECAUSE OF INCREASING SWEDISH PRESENCE AND PROBLEMS IN NIGERIA, CALLED ON ME TODAY. HE SAYS THAT SWEDES ARE NOT INTERESTED IN TAKING NIGERIAN PROBLEM UP IN SC AND HAD PRESSED FOR TREATMENT OF PROBLEM STRICTLY AS HUMANITARIAN ISSUE IN RECENT NORDIC FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING.

2. SWARTZ SAYS INVITATION TO SWEDEN TO PARTICIPATE IN OBSERVER TEAM WAS WARMLY RECEIVED IN STOCKHOLM. HE HAD DISCUSSED THIS AT LENGTH WITH PERMSEC BABA GANA OF MINEXTAFFI TODAY, STRESSING SWEDISH DESIRE TO HAVE FREEDOM OF ACTION FOR THEIR OBSERVER AS WELL AS RIGHT TO COMMUNICATE DIRECTLY WITH STOCKHOLM. HE FOUND BABA GANA NOT QUITE AS FORTHCOMING AS HE HAD BEEN WITH CANADIAN HICOM (REF (B)) BUT

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*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 12430 061743Z

BABA GANA HAD PROMISED TERMS OF REFERENCES FOR OBSERVER TEAM WOULD BE READY SOON, PERHAPS BY COB TODAY.

3. SWARTZ UNDERSTANDS THAT POLAND HAS NOT YET RESPONDED TO INVITATION TO PROVIDE AN OBSERVER.

GP-3. MATHEWS

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By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

ACTION			DEPARTMENT OF STATE			POL 23-9 AFR		
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AGR	COM	FRB	FROM : Amembassy LAGOS			DATE: SEPT 6 1968		
INT	LAB	TAR	SUBJECT: Biafra -- What's in a name					
TR	XMB	AIR	REF :					
ARMY	CIA	NAVY						
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In its September 5 issue, the Lagos Morning Post carries a report of an interview with Dr. J. E. ADETORO, FMG Federal Commissioner for Health, who has just returned to Lagos after a "goodwill mission" to Congo-K. and Congo-B. The Commissioner is quoted as saying that the Government of the Congo-B has now discovered to its utter amazement that the young dissident elements that have revolted have drawn "their inspiration" from the rebel leaders in Nigeria, because they have named their training camp Biafra. Adetoro said that this event proved the truth of General Gowon's warning some time ago to the other African states that if the rebels won in Nigeria it would lead to secession and rebellion in other African states. (END UNCLASSIFIED)

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COMMENT: The use of the name Biafra for the camp of the dissident element in the Congo-B. of course does not prove any complicity with the Ojukwu rebellion, but its use is interesting because it seems to represent a trend for dissident elements in other African states to use the name Biafra to identify themselves. On Zanzibar, where the reporting officer was previously assigned, a group which was anti-GOZ also used the name Biafra to identify themselves.

MATHEWS *sm*

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Drafted by: POL:GFCar:mr 9/5/68

Contents and Classification Approved by: POL:EE Ramsaur Jr *sm*

Clearances:

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MN Date: 10/5/05

ORIGIN/ACTION

RM/R	REP	AF
1		
ARA	EUR	FE
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TO : Department of State

INFO : Amembassy LONDON, LAGOS

FROM : Amembassy FREETOWN

SUBJECT : Nigerian Delegation Visits Sierra Leone

REF :

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ANALYSIS BRANCH

DATE: September 6, 1968

A Nigerian delegation composed of Commissioner of Trade, Alhaji MONGUNU, Nigerian High Commission to Sierra Leone, O. JOLAOSA and Head of Consular Division, Ministry of External Affairs, Isa MODIBLA visited Sierra Leone August 31 - September 2. While in Freetown the delegation met with the Prime Minister, the Minister of External Affairs and the Acting Governor-General and held a press conference. The visit, which followed closely the visit of the Biafran delegation headed by Dr. AZIKIWE, was ostensibly to acquaint the Sierra Leone Government with the latest situation in Nigeria.

During the press conference, Commissioner Mongunu said that despite the unfriendly attitude of some states, Nigeria "will use all the might we have to maintain the sovereignty of Nigeria." He added that "the Prime Minister (Stevens) understood that this was a rebellion and no one would tolerate rebellion in his country at least in the interest of African unity." Mongunu may have overstated somewhat Sierra Leone's sympathy for the Federal Government's position. On the day after the Nigerian delegation departed Freetown, the following statement was made by the Government:

"During the past fortnight this government received separately, delegations from the Federation of Nigeria and Biafra in regard to the Nigerian crisis.

"Today the slogan of African Unity is heard not only in Africa but throughout the world. But unfortunately Africa continues to be the stage of colonialist exploitation.

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FORM 4-62 DS-323

Drafted by:

POL:Rail:jm:9/4/68

Contents and Classification Approved by:

Amb:RCMiner

Clearances:

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Authority: VNP959503  
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05

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Page 2  
Freetown A- 375

"This Government still stands by the view it has always held that a cease fire should be called immediately, thereby stopping the unnecessary slaughter of innocent people and the possible extermination of a tribe and that a round table conference be held with a view to working out a peaceful solution to the Nigerian problem.

"To this end the Honourable Prime Minister had previously approached both Major General Gowan and Lieutenant Colonel Ojukwu.

"This Government also earnestly urges the discontinuance of all supplies of arms to both sides of the war."

MINER

(Hm)

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05

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# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

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Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS  
Info: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA  
LONDON  
PARIS  
US Mission GENEVA  
USUN  
CINCSTRIKE  
Amc onsul IBADAN  
Amconsul KADUNA

SUBJECT: Nigeria Press Summary - September 6

1. Balt Sun, Wall Street Journal, and NYTimes September 6 carried articles ~~indicating~~ indicating plans for daylight airlift to Biafra appeared near collapse Sept 5 because of dispute between Nigeria and secessionist region over where Red Cross planes could land.

2. Friendly Junior NYTimes article datelined Lagos Sept 6 said starvation deaths mounting daily in what is left of secessionist Biafra. Outside what Nigerians say is 5,000 square miles controlled by secessionists, more than 14,000 tons food, clothing and medicine sits in storage. ICRC has amassed 14,163 tons high-protein food and 630 tons Nigerian staples such as rice and beans for distribution, perhaps half still stored Lagos, and some 5,000 tons in Fernando Po. Lagos stores said be subject pilferage rate 8 to 10 percent. On Fernando Po, cocoa harvest coming in and said be threatening push all ICRC stockpile out in rain. Red Cross Sept 1 goal inside Nigeria was delivery 2,200 tons to Enugu, 1,700 tons to Calabar, and 800 tons to Agbor,

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Clearance: RJT Torrance: mb 9/6/68  
Tel. Ext. 2105  
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Nigerian Task Force-Mr. Melbourne

AF/P:RLPerkins

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By: MN NARA Date: 10/5/05



Page 2 of telegram to LAGOS

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three places from which supplies could eventually be moved to famine areas.

3. Days after target date there only 1,700 tons Enugu, 1,000 Calabar, and 300 Agbor. Also in Enugu was convoy 25 Red Cross trucks and their medical team passengers, halfway along bruising 900 mile road trip to Calabar. Journey takes at most two days by sea but RC could not find ships to carry trucks and now is not sure it will send them to Calabar at all. In Calabar only two trucks making trips into federally-held Cross River Delta, where 250,000 underfed tribes members minority/~~xxxx~~ being joined by thousands Ibo streaming away from Aba.

Group American helicopter pilots hopes begin operating two craft out of Calabar early next week under UNICEF. According independent report on relief activities written "here" August 26, QTEhundreds of thousands homeless starving people UNQTE in Uyo-Itu-Ikot Ekpene area urgently awaiting relief which comes piecemeal only.

4. Article quoted report as ~~xxx~~ saying that elsewhere in federal territory, relief workers have not been permitted in Rivers State where military operations based on Port Harcourt have been intensive. In liberated areas Biafra east and south Enugu, report says great majority population still in hiding and volunteers unable lure them out for food and medical attention. Biafra still adamantly refuses consider idea land corridor to move supplies from federal territory into Biafra because secessionists fear supplies passing through federal hands would be poisoned. Biafrans also assert trucks would work only as Trojan ~~xxxx~~ horses and invading Nigerian troops would follow. With no diplomatic progress on land route, Red Cross, increasingly worried about future its stocks on Fernando Po, announced this week it would ignore federal objections and artillery and begin five-plane daylight airlift to Biafra. Article ~~xxx~~ says Lagos authorities, infuriated by this

FORM DS-322A  
8-63  
CONTINUATION SHEET

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Page 3 of telegram to LAOGS

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ultimatum, nevertheless made major concession and approved 10 day airlift to land on widened highway near Uli which secessionists also use as airstrip handling ammunition flights. FMG even agreed not require Biafrans neutralize field, insisting only that ICRC not use another airstrip -- ~~xxxx~~ earlier offered by Biafra -- standing athwart planned federal advance.

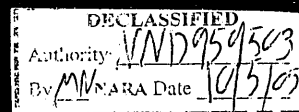
5. Even in ideal conditions, 10 day airlift cannot deliver more than 1,800 tons supplies to people whose needs conservatively estimated months ago at 200 tons daily. Conditions less than ideal and Ibadan Daily Sketch quoted editorializing maneuvering over airlift shaking confidence Nigerians in integrity ICRC. Fritz Real, Swiss Ambassador Lagos participated negotiations ending in FMG agreement to 10 day airlift. Until now, he says, Nigeria felt ICRC did much more to help other side. Airlift only palliative and after 10 days will have to get together and see what then.

6. NYTimes article datelined Sao Tome Sept 5 says 30 Biafran children between ages 4 and 12 with swollen legs and open sores arrived there last night in relief airlift, and were taken Sao Tome hospital. These first children airlifted out of Biafra. Total of 50 children expected be flown Sao Tome this week under auspices Caritas for treatment malnutrition and Kwashiorkor. Children were evacuated Tuesday from Okpala along with some 12,000 other refugees. Rev. Sean Broderick, 32 year old member Order of Holy Ghost who accompanied children Sao Tome flight said it wonder any survived. He said it decided evacuate 150 children from Caritas-sponsored sick bay at Okpala when Nigerians reached point within three miles and began shelling and bombing village.

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Page 4 of telegram to LAGOS

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7. Balt Sun Sept 6 datelined Lagos said FMG troops reported raising FMG flag over Aba and Biafra acknowledged FMG forces broken through Aba defenses. Diplomatic sources Lagos said no ICRC planes took off as scheduled Sept 5 from Fernando Po. Article says Biafra welcomed agreement send relief supplies but broadcast proposal Sept 5 that ICRC planes land instead at Uturu, village near Obilago airstrip in central Biafra. Nigerians have rejected Obilago as landing spot because it would block advance FMG troops on headquarters Biafra leader Ojukwu 25 miles from airstrip. We will not change our stand, FMG military spokesman said of latest Biafran proposal. Article states August Lindt, ICRC coordinator for West Africa, reported in Biafra trying talk Biafran leaders into accepting Nigerian proposal. He was to fly Fernando Po ~~xxx~~ night Sept 5 but diplomatic sources said he might return Lagos if warring sides cannot agree on landing site.

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POLYBIAFRA NIGERIA

## OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
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Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

Info: INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA  
LONDON  
PARIS  
US MISSION GENEVA  
USUN  
CINCSTRIKE  
Amconsul Ibadan  
Amconsul KADUNA

SUBJECT: Nigerian Press Summary - September 5

1. Balt Sun features Joseph Sterne story headed US Hopes Biafra will take offer - says rejection of aid plan would be unconscionable. American officials were hoping today Biafra would accept agreement worked out between FMG and ICRC for daytime airlift of food supplies to civil war victims. They said US would regard it as an QTE unconscionable act UNQTE for Biafra's secessionist government to raise objections. Under arrangement signed yesterday in Lagos airlift from Fernando Po to begin tomorrow for period of ten days. American officials said this is QTE certainly an encouraging step and there should now be no obstacle to these flights taking place UNQTE. What caused nervousness Washington however were reports from Addis that Biafran representatives at peace talks there had reacted negatively to Lagos agreement. Apparently in dispute was choice of airstrip for receiving emergency food shipments. Biafrans wanted relief supplies flown to airstrip near Obilagu that Biafran govt turned over to Red Cross on Aug 14. This rejected by

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Lagos govt on ground Obilagu in path of advancing federal troops and that relief operation there would get enmeshed with military activities. Lagos insisted supplies be flown to airstrip near Uli, main base still left to Biafrans for receipt arms shipments. Red Cross agreed but official Biafran response still remained in doubt late today. American govt and private contributions has increased steadily, reaching level of \$11.5 million a week ago. Most of American food supplies, part of massive world wide relief operation, are being stockpiled in Lagos as well as in towns closer to fighting area. Noting that airlift cannot come close to fulfilling Biafra's food needs, officials here stressed it is ~~the~~ QTE of utmost importance that land and water corridors be opened as a matter of urgency UNQTE.

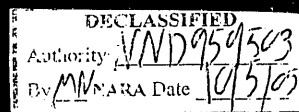
2. Sun also carries AP Lagos report FMG claim capture of Aba and that QTE care of civilians in that area is already in progress UNQTE. Army spokesman also claimed villages of Owutu and Oklgwe and were closing in on Biafran airstrip at Obilago. Lindt flew to Biafra today to make arrangements for daylight mercy flights to starving war ~~victim~~ victims.

3. Wash Post carries no story but two UPI photos of Nigerian firing squad executing Lt. Macaulay Lamurde, found guilty by court martial of killing unarmed Biafran soldier who surrendered last week near Aba. Biafran's death was filmed by British TV crew.

4. Times carries special unbylined story from Sao Tome under head Aid airlift to Biafra need equipment. Foodstocks for Biafra piled high on small Portuguese island in Gulf of Guinea. Relief flights now getting in, average of eight flights nightly with total about 65 tons food and medical supplies. Ten times more aid

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Page 3 of telegram to LAGOS

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needed to save Biafrans. Most urgently needed is a fully-equipped Lockheed  
Hercules plane that can unload in 5 minutes/~~or~~ drop supplies by parachute  
from low altitude, pierced steel planking for buildings, runways and  
unloading ramps, radar and unloading gear for a C-46 type aircraft. Relief  
organizations here scouring West German and US markets for Hercules. Committee  
of international church relief organizations, RC and Protestant, at Sao Tome  
has urged home office to suspend Biafran food shipments temporarily because  
warehouses here now full. Now total some 3,000 tons of relief waiting be  
shipped Biafra. Shipment 262 tons from US Catholic Relief Services arrived  
this week on American ship Australian Surf. Included cases baby foods, cereals,  
powdered milk, fish protein concentrate, canned meats, whole egg powder, salt,  
multipurpose food antibiotics, vitamins and bandages. Sao Tome's small fleet  
of barges worked overtime to unload American relief supplies because West  
German ship Korbach anchored in bay waiting with 1,500 tons food supplies  
from Irish branch of Caritas. Port is shallow, cannot receive anything larger  
than 500 ton vessels. Medical relief supplies still insufficient. Boeing transport  
plane from ~~Italian~~ Italian branch Caritas expected tomorrow with badly needed  
vitamins, blood plasma, antibiotics and medicine for malaria and dysentery.  
There are eight planes on relief run and airport facilities, particularly in  
Biafra, cannot handle much more. Four DC-7's operated by Warton and chartered  
Xequally by German Catholic and Protestant groups ~~fly~~ fly in nine tons a plane  
nightly. Swedish charter group, Transair, operates two DC-7's nightly for  
Scandinavian Catholic and Protestant churches, who have also chartered a C-46  
from Fred Olson company of Norway and a DC-6 from Sterling of Denmark, both

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FORM DS-322A  
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CONTINUATION SHEET

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Page 4 of telegram to LAGOS

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carrying five tons a trip. If church orgs could obtain necessary equipment to improve landing and unloading facilities flights could be increased from 8 to 30 a night, according spokesman Sao Tome relief committee. Eighteen planes in all, mostly carrying supplies, flew into Biafra last night between 6:30 P.M. and 3 A.M. ICRC sent two flights in from Fernando Po. French Red Cross and independent arms-carrying flights take off from Gabon.

END

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
XR DEF 19-8 FR-BIAFRA

XR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

CONFIDENTIAL 632

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01710 061443Z

53

ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, JO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SA 01, SAH 02, SCS 04,

SCA 02, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, PC 04, RSR 01, 161 W

R 060950Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1924  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 605  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 1710

SUBJECT: BIAFRA

REF: LIBREVILLE 1709 - POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

1. ISRAELI AMBASSADOR AVIMOR (PLEASE PROTECT) TOLD ME LAST EVE THAT HE KNEW PERSONALLY THAT PRES BONGO HAD RECENTLY PRESSED FRANCE INCREASE ITS AID AND SUPPORT BIAFRA AND THAT FRENCH HAD TURNED HIM DOWN. AVIMOR ALSO SAID THAT IN RECENT TALKS HE HAS HAD WITH BONGO, HE HAS GAINED IMPRESSION THAT BONGO FEELS ISOLATED ON BIAFRAN ISSUE AS WELL AS LET DOWN.

2. COMMENT: FOREGOING BEARS OUT IMPRESSION I GAINED IN MY TALK WITH BONGO YESTERDAY (REFTEL). THIS ALSO SUGGESTS THAT FRENCH DO NOT PLAN AUGMENT APPRECIABLY THEIR CURRENT LIBREVILLE BIAFRAN AIRLIFT OR ASSUME PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS OPERATION. WE DOUBT MOREOVER IF BONGO LIKELY GET MUCH PUBLIC OR MATERIAL SUPPORT FROM IVORY COAST, TANZANIA OR ZAMBIA FOR A MAJOR EFFORT ASSIST BIAFRAN LAST-DITCH MILITARY EFFORT. WE SUSPECT THAT BONGO IS BEGINNING TO FEEL THAT HE MAY TURN OUT

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PAGE 02 LIBREV 01710 061443Z

TO BE THE QTE FALL GUY UNQTE AND WE INCLINED THINK THAT THIS  
MAY PROMPT HIM TO HAVE SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT POSITION HE HAS TAKEN  
ON BIAFRA WHICH THUS FAR HAS LIKELY COST HIM PLenty AND EARNED HIM  
FEW KUDOS ON THE AFRICAN AND INTERNATIONAL SCENE.  
GP-3 BANE

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Authority: VND 959503  
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

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POL 27-1 COM BLOC-CZECH  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

XK POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA 20  
POL 27 ARAB-ISR

CONFIDENTIAL: 941

PAGE 01 OUAGAD 01730 061719Z

45  
ACTION AF 15

INFO CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,

SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, ACDA 16, AID 28, EUR 15, IO 13, NIC 01, NEA 13,

RSR 01, 174 W

R 061545Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1778  
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

C O N F I D E N T I A L OUAGADOUGOU 1730

RPTD INFO ABIDJAN COTONOU LOME LAGOS NIAMEY MOSCOW  
BY OTHER MEANS

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH GENERAL LAMIZANA

1. IN SEPTEMBER 5 TOUR D'HORIZON PRESIDENT LAMIZANA TOLD ME FOLLOWING:

2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA A. GOUV DID NOT SEVERELY CONDEMN SOVIET ACTION PUBLICALLY BECAUSE UPPER VOLTA IS WEAK, NEEDS FRIENDS IN ALL AREAS, AND NOTED THAT SINCE CZECHS DID NOT TRY TO LEAVE COMMUNIST BLOC, PROBLEM, THEREFORE, COMMUNIST FAMILY MATTER.

B. LAMIZANA FIRMLY REJECTED INVASION EXCUSE GIVEN BY APOLOGETIC, SHAMEFACED SOVIET CHARGE. TOLD CHARGE GOUV STRONGLY CONDEMNS ACTION AND FEARS RESULT COULD BE WORLD WAR III.

3. OAU A. GOUV HAS NOT CHANGED POSITION VIS-A-VIS BIAFRAN RECOGNITION (I.E. FMG ONLY LEGAL GOVERNMENT). LAMIZANA HOPES WAR WILL END ASAP. I SUGGESTED US WOULD WELCOME OAU ACCEPTANCE OF FMG REQUEST FOR OBSERVERS TO BLUNT BIAFRAN GENOCIDE CHARGES.

B. I TOLD LAMIZANA US STILL HOLDS TO FIVE PRINCIPLES OF UN MIDDLE EAST RESOLUTION AND WOULD APPRECIATE EFFORT BY

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*X R Pol 27 Biafra - Nigeria*  
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
 32

CONFIDENTIAL 356

PAGE 01 MONROV 07101 061045Z

21  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,  
 NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SAH 02, AID 28, RSR 01,  
 SA 01, 147 W

R 060900Z SEP 68  
 FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5098  
 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
 AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
 AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
 AMEMBASSY LONDON  
 AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
 AMEMBASSY PARIS  
 AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
 US MISSION GENEVA 82  
 USMISSION USUN NY

CONFIDENTIAL MONROVIA 7101

REF: MONROVIA 6787

SUBJ: HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY VIEWS ON BIAFRA

1. PRESIDENT TUBMAN TOLD ME HOUPHOUET WISHED TO PUT  
 A COMMENT ON BIAFRA IN FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF TUBMAN'S  
 VISIT TO IVORY COAST. TUBMAN OBJECTED SAYING HE DID  
 NOT AGREE WITH HOUPHOUET AND IF HOUPHOUET VIEWS WERE  
 PUT IN COMMUNIQUE TUBMAN'S VIEWS WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE.

2. TUBMAN WENT ON TO SAY THAT HOUPHOUET REMARKED THAT  
 HE COULD SAY ANYTHING HE WISHED TO FRENCH AND TUBMAN  
 COULD SAY ANYTHING HE WISHED TO AMERICANS. THEREFORE  
 HE HOPED TUBMAN WOULD SPEAK TO AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN  
 LIBERIA AND TELL HIM THAT IF FMG IS ALLOWED TO DESTROY  
 BIAFRA, RUSSIANS WILL TAKE OVER NIGERIA AND THUS HAVE

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*Monrovia 7101*  
*9/6/68*

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
XR PPB 10-2 US  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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9-5-68  
1708

CONFIDENTIAL 269

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01708 060954Z

12  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, INR 07, P 04, RSC 01, USIA 12, ACDA 16,  
AID 28, RSR 01, 101 W

R 051530Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1922  
INFO AMCNNSUL DOUALA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 1708

SUBJ LOOK MAGAZINE ARTICLE ON BIAFRA

ANDREW NASH, JOURNALIST FOR DAILY TELEGRAPH WHO  
PREPARING STORY ON NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR FOR LOOK MAGAZINE,  
CALLED AT EMB SEPT 4. NASH APPEARS WELL INFORMED ON  
FRENCH ACTIVITIES IN SUPPORT BIAFRA AND HIS SYMPATHIES

SEEM BE FIRMLY ON FEDERAL SIDE. HE HAD UNINFORMATIVE  
MEETING WITH MININFO TECHNICAL ADVISOR WHO IN RESPONSE  
DIRECT QUESTION DENIED FRENCH ARMS GOING TO BIAFRA.  
LEFT WRITTEN QUESTIONS ON BIAFRA FOR MININFO MEBALEY  
TO BE ANSWERED IN WRITING. (COMMENT: MEBALEY HAS  
BEEN CLOSE TO GABONESE INVOLVEMENT WITH BIAFRA BUT IN  
UNLIKELY EVENT REPLIES FORTHCOMING THEY NOT LIKELY BE  
VERY USEFUL.) NASH DEPARTED LIBREVILLE TODAY FOR  
DOUALA AND LONDON WITHOUT HAVING OBTAINED INTERVIEW  
HE SOUGHT WITH PRES BONGO. GP 3. BANE

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By: MN,ARA Date: 10/3/05



POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
XR POL 16 BIAFRA

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PAGE 01 LIBREV 01709 061531Z

44  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, RSR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,  
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, SR 01, ORM 03,  
AID 28, SAH 02, 150 W

R 051535Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1923  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY USAKA 15

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CORRECTED COPY TEXT

SUBJ BIAFRA

1. I TALKED TO PRES BONGO BRIEFLY ABOUT BIAFRA THIS MORNING. HE DID NOT THINK THAT ANYTHING COULD BE DONE BY OAU TO FURTHER BIAFRAN CAUSE. AS MATTER OF FACT HE APPEARED TO BE DOUBTFUL AS TO HOW MUCH SUPPORT BIAFRA COULD MUSTER AT ALGIERS IN ANY EVENT. HE DID NOT THINK BIAFRAN CAUSE COULD BE FURTHERED AT UN EITHER. HE SAW LITTLE HOPE MOREOVER FOR BIAFRANS MILITARILY. LATTER HOPELESSLY OUTGUNNED BY FEDERAL FORCES. AT SAME TIME HE CONVINCED BIAFRANS ALTHOUGH TAKEN OVER MILITARILY WILL NEVER GIVE UP AND ARE DETERMINED TO CARRY ON A GUERRILLA WAR.

2. BONGO WENT ON SAY TRAGEDY FOR BIAFRA WAS THAT NO GREAT POWERS HAD SEEN FIT TO FOLLOW LEAD OF THE FOUR AFRICAN STATES IN RECOGNIZING BIAFRA AND IN SUPPORTING IT AS BRITISH AND SOVIETS HAVE DONE FOR FEDERAL GOVT. HE THOUGHT THAT IF BIAFRA HAD BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN GREAT POWER RECOGNITION

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By: MNA Date: 10/5/05



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THEN OUTCOME MIGHT HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT. COMMENT: I THINK HE HAD FRANCE IN MIND.

3. COMMENT: I RATHER GOT IMPRESSION THAT BONGO IS BEGINNING TO FEEL HIS ISOLATION ON BIAFRA ISSUE AND THAT HE MAY BE SOMEWHAT DISILLUSIONED OVER FRANCE'S FAILURE TO RECOGNIZE BIAFRA AND TO UNDER TAKE A MAJOR AND OPEN EFFORT TO SUPPORT. INSTEAD HE FINDS HIMSELF ESSENTIALLY ALONE IN THE CENTER OF THE STAGE SERVING AS A COVER FOR FRENCH OPERATED LIBREVILLE-BIAFRA AIRLIFT. IT IS LIKELY THAT BONGO ALSO FEELS THAT HIS AFRICAN PARTNERS IN RECOGNITION OF BIAFRA HAVE LET HIM DOWN AS WELL AND HAVE NOT DONE ALL THAT HE PERHAPS HAD HOPED THEY MIGHT DO. IN ANY EVENT IT IS POSSIBLE THAT PROCESS OF DISILLUSIONMENT IS BEGINNING TO SET IN AS BONGO COMES TO REALIZE THAT FRENCH MAY HAVE LED HIM DOWN GARDEN PATH ONCE AGAIN AS THEY DID ON QUEBEC INVITATION ISSUE EARLIER THIS YEAR. IF THIS IS CASE IT MAY PROVE TO HAVE BEEN A USEFUL EXPERIENCE FOR BONGO. GP-3 BANE

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Authority	VND 950503
By	MVA
Date	10/5/05



POB 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State <sup>LR POB BIAFRA-FR</sup>  
**TELEGRAM**  
POB 27-9 BIAFRA

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PAGE 01 PARIS 20396 051325Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INRI 07, LI 03, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SA 01, SAH 02, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28,

SCSE 00, SCA 02, IO 13, RSR 01, /153 W

R 051220Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5727  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

UNCLAS PARIS 20396

SUBJ: BIAFRA

1. TWO INTERESTING ITEMS ON BIAFRA APPEARED IN FRENCH PRESS SEPTEMBER 4. FIRST IS AFP REPORT OF MESSAGE FROM OJUKWU TO DEGAULLE THANKING HIM FOR "POSITION TAKEN BY FRENCH GOVERNMENT" AND FOR "HUMANITARIAN WORK BEING COURAGEOUSLY CARRIED OUT" IN BIAFRA BY REPRESENTATIVES OF FRENCH RED CROSS.

(3) 2. SECOND ITEM IS STORY BY FIGARO REPORTER JEAN-FRANCOIS CHAUVEL DATED LINE OVERRI SEPTEMBER 3. CHAUVEL REPORTS THAT GABONESE PRESIDENT BONGO ISSUED APPEAL AUGUST 30 FOR CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN GABON, IVORY COAST, TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA "TO DETERMINE THE BEST MEANS OF SENDING RELIEF" TO BIAFRA, AND THAT THESE CONSULTATIONS ARE NOW UNDERWAY. SHRIVER

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By: MNA Date: 10/5/05



Pol 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA.

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TELEGRAM

SECRET 165

PAGE 01 PARIS 20327 041813Z

45

ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02, RSR 01, SAH 02,

NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, ACDA 16, /172 W

P R 041042Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5675  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USMISSION GENEVA

SECRET PARIS 20327

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y

SUBJECT: FRANCE AND BIAFRA

① REFERENCE: STATE 230178

1. EMBOFF SAW QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR NON-FRENCH AFRICA  
GUEURY (PLEASE PROTECT) AFTERNOON SEPTEMBER 3 TO CONVEY  
SUBSTANCE PARAS FOUR AND FIVE REFTEL ON US POSITION NIGERIAN  
CONFLICT. GUEURY APPEARED IMPRESSED BOTH BY AMOUNT ASSISTANCE  
WE HAVE PROVIDED VIA ICRC AND BY DEMARCHES WE HAVE MADE TO  
FMG ABOUT ALL OUT ATTACK ON IBO HEARTLAND AND OPPOSITION  
TO ICRC. GUEURY THEN VOLUNTERED THAT FRANCE WILL CONTINUE  
EFFORTS PROVIDE RELIEF SUPPLIES TO BIAFRA THROUGH FRENCH  
RED CROSS VIA LIBREVILLE DESPITE BLOCKADE BUT IS NOT REPEAT  
NOT NOW CONSIDERING ANY NEW INITIATIVES.

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PAGE 02 PARIS 20327 041813Z

2. EMBOFF ASKED ABOUT REPORTS COMING OUT OF AFRICA THAT SIZEABLE NUMBERS FRENCH MERCENARIES MOVING INTO BIAFRA AND RECALLED PROBLEMS WE HAD BOTH HAD WITH FRENCH MERCENARIES IN CONGO (K) NOT TOO LONG AGO. GUEURY FLATELY DENIED THAT FRENCH MERCENARIES ARE NOW OR ARE ABOUT TO BECOME INVOLVED IN BIAFRA. HE SAID THERE MAY BE TWO OR THREE THERE NOW WITH STEINEC AND COMPANY BUT NO MORE. HANDFUL OF FRENCH MEDICAL AID PERSONNEL WILL SOON GO TO BIAFRA UNDER AUSPICES KNIGHTS OF MALTA AND WITH KNOWLEDGE ICRC TO OVERSEE DISTRIBUTION FRENCH RELIEF SUPPLIES BUT THEY ARE NOT REPEAT NOT IN ANY SENSE MERCENARIES.

3. ON SUBJECT FRENCH ARMS AID, GUEURY ADMITTED ARMS OF FRENCH ORIGIN GOING IN FROM LIBREVILLE BUT SAID THESE ARE GABONESE ARMS FOR BIAFRA, NOT FRENCH ARMS. HE AGREED THAT THIS RATHER FINE DISTINCTION BUT SAID THAT IT IS NEVERTHELESS TECHNICALLY CORRECT AND DOES NOT CONSTITUTE VIOLATION FRENCH EMBARGO.

4. RE OAU SUMMIT MEETING, GUEURY SAID ALGERIANS STRONGLY OPPOSE DISCUSSION OF NIGERIA BY FONMINS. QUESTION WILL CERTAINLY BE RAISED BY CHIEFS OF STATE AND QUAI EXPECTS ZAMBIAN PRESIDENT KUANDA TO TAKE LEAD IN ABSENCE PRESIDENT'S IVORY COAST, GABON AND TANZANIA. QUAI DOES NOT EXPECT OAU MEETING WILL CONTRIBUTE TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

5. COMMENT: IN ABSENCE HARD INFORMATION ON PRESENCE FRENCH MERCENARIES, WE INCLINED ACCEPT FOR PRESENT, GUEURY'S DENIAL. HE WAS REASONABLY FRANK ABOUT FRENCH MERCENARIES IN ANGOLA LAST NOVEMBER-DECEMBER.

GP-3. SHRIVER

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By	MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05

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INCO-FIBERS NIGERIA  
XR POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State TELEGRAM

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CONFIDENTIAL 038

PAGE 01 LAGOS 12351 041639Z

45  
ACTION AID 45

INFO AF 09,E 15,IGA 02,CIAE 00,DODE 00,GPM 04,H 02,INR 07,L 03,NSC 10,

P 04,RSC 01,SP 02,SS 25,USIA 12,NSA 02,RSR 01,144 W

R 041605Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2394

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 12351

SUBJECT: INDIAN HEAD

REF: STATE 2317041 AIDTO 1853

FMG ANNOUNCED 1600 HOURS SEPTEMBER 4 THAT ABA IN  
FEDERAL HANDS. IF PAST EXPERIENCE IS ANY GUIDE, IT WILL BE  
SOMETIME, PERHAPS WEEKS BEFORE CIVILIANS WILL BE PERMITTED  
INTO THIS AREA TO REAR OF WAR ZONE WHERE BIAFRAN INFILTRATORS  
MAY STILL BE ACTIVE.

GP-3. MATHEWS

LAGOS 12351  
9-4-68

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**  
*23*

CONFIDENTIAL 649

PAGE 01 REYKJA 00663 041226Z

43  
ACTION: AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 02, SCS 04, RSR 01, NSA 02,  
CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,  
SS 25, USIA 12, MC 01, 155 W

R 040949Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 874  
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
USMISSION USUN

CONFIDENTIAL REYKJAVIK 663

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN REQUEST TO GOI FOR POLITICAL ASSISTANCE

1. PIUS OKIGBO, FORMER ECONOMIC ADVISER TO NIGERIAN GOVT AND NOW ECONOMIC "MINISTER" IN BIAFRA, AND C.O. IFEAGWU, FORMER NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR TO MOSCOW, CALLED ON ICELANDIC PRIME MINISTER WITH FOREIGN MINISTER PRESENT AUGUST 30 TO REQUEST ASSISTANCE IN OBTAINING RECOGNITION AND EMBARGO BY UN ACTION ON ARMS TO NIGERIA. (BEFORE FIGHTING BIAFRA WAS MAJOR MARKET FOR ICELANDIC STOCKFISH.) ACCORDING ICELANDIC MFA INFORMANT, ICELANDERS POINTED TO THEIR ASSISTANCE IN FORM STOCKFISH VALUED AT NINE MILLION ICELANDIC KRONOR ALREADY PROVIDED TO AID BIAFRANS BUT IN "NEBULOUS" RESPONSE COULD OFFER NO HOPE REGARDING POLITICAL ASSISTANCE. INFORMANT SAID THAT AFTER BRIEF TIME THERE WAS NOT MUCH TO TALK ABOUT AND PRIMIN LEFT MEETING TO ATTEND TO OTHER BUSINESS. ICELANDERS MADE POINT THAT IN THIS SORT OF AFFAIR ICELANDERS COORDINATE WITH OTHER NORDIC GOVTS AND NIGERIAN-BIAFRAN ISSUE WOULD BE DISCUSSED AT FALL MEETING NORDIC FOREIGN MINISTERS IN STOCKHOLM SEPTEMBER 4.

2. IN PRESS CONFERENCE WHICH WIDELY REPORTED TWO BIAFRAN

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**<sub>23</sub>

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PAGE 02 REYKJA 00663 041226Z

REPS STRESSED CONFLICT WOULD NOT BE SOLVED BY FORCE OF ARMS AND  
BIAFRAN DETERMINATION CONTINUE STRUGGLE. PRESS REPORTS  
REYKJAVIK STOP WAS PART OF SWING BY BIAFRANS AROUND NORDIC  
CIRCUIT. GP-3. HENRY

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Date:	10/5/05



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PAGE 01 LONDON 12363 041829Z

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ACTION AF 15INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,  
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, SR 01, AID 28, RSR 01, 145 WR 041820Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5868  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
USMISSION USUN NY

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LONDON 12363

SUBJ: BBC-TV COVERAGE OF NIGERIAN EXECUTIONS

1. LONDON PRESS THIS MORNING PROMINENTLY REPORTS EXECUTION OF NIGERIAN SECOND LIEUTENANT RESPONSIBLE FOR SHOOTING OF UN-ARMED YOUNG BIAFRAN. SHOOTING OF BIAFRAN WAS SHOWN ON BBC-TV EVENING OF SEPT. 3 AND CREATED WIDESPREAD AND HORRIFIED INTEREST.

2. TIMES REPORTS LIEUTENANT'S EXECUTION WAS LIKEWISE FILMED BY TELEVISION CAMERAS AND ASSERTS FIRING-SQUAD WAS ORDERED TO HOLD FIRE AT LAST MINUTE UNTIL CAMERAMAN COULD GET FRESH BATTERY. BRUCE

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By: MN/ARA Date: 10/5/05

# OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS  
Info: INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA  
Amembassy LONDON  
USMission GENEVA  
USUN

STATE

1. Ambassador Iyalla, freshly returned from Lagos, called on Assistant Secretary Palmer September 4. He stated that FMG hoped through current offensive to break Ibo rebellion although Gowon privately not sanguine that issue will be finally settled within 4 week period ~~of~~ he publicly announced. FMG preparing to send corps of young Nigerian volunteers into war affected areas as soon as conditions permit in order to help in relief and rehabilitation efforts among local population. Crude oil is beginning to flow from Bonny installation of Shell-BP and reportedly 7 tankers have been assigned to transport crude from there.
2. In its preparation for Algiers OAU meeting, FMG has taken position that civil war should not be discussed by OAU Foreign Ministers. OAU Consultative Committee, composed of heads of state, will make its report to summit meeting. Thus, discussion of Nigerian situation should be confined to that forum.
3. Iyalla was told that three recent actions by FMG have been favorably received internationally. These included proposal for international observers, court martial of officer widely publized for shooting an Ibo prisoner, and daylight agreement just concluded with ICRC for 10 days of relief ~~daylight~~ flights into

Drafted by: AFW:RM Melbourne:emb 9/4/68 Tel. Ext. 2619 Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AFW - Roy M. Melbourne Nigeria Task Force  
Clearances: AF - Mr. Palmer (substance) *Rue*

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FORM DS-322  
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Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

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Biafra. Iyalla commented that he hoped now ICRC would move with same vigor in pressing for land relief corridors as it had for airflights.

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FORM DS-322A  
8-63  
CONTINUATION SHEET

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By MW NARA Date 10/5/05



PET 6 NIGERIA  
TRPOL 27 BIAFRA NIGERIA  
Department of State TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 043

PAGE 01 LAGOS 12350 041651Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, OODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, INT 06, AIO 28, COM 08, E 15,

FRB 02, TRSY 11, XMB 06, XSR 01, /179 W

R 041610Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2393  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 12350

SUBJECT: PETROLEUM: CRUDE OIL FROM BONNY

1. WE ARE INFORMED SHELL TANKER UNDERWAY TO BONNY TERMINAL TO LOAD APPROXIMATELY 18,000 TONS CRUDE OIL WHICH HAS BEEN IN STORAGE THERE SINCE START OF WAR. IF THIS SMALL TANKER HAS NO DIFFICULTIES WITH DRAFT AND OBSTRUCTIONS, FURTHER TRIPS WILL BE MADE TO REMOVE REMAINDER OF STORED OIL. SHELL-BP CLAIMS STILL NOT TO HAVE FULL PICTURE ON CONDITION OF BONNY CHANNEL. NIGERIAN PORTS AUTHORITY SURVEYOR TOLD US EARLIER THAT AS OF JULY 1968 ONLY FOUR FEET OF SILT HAD BEEN DEPOSITED SINCE CESSATION OF REGULAR DREDGING.

2. SHELL-BP EXTREMELY RELUCTANT TO TALK ABOUT THEIR PRESENT ACTIVITIES IN EAST BECAUSE OF FEAR OF REVENGE RAIDS AGAINST COMPANY FACILITIES WHICH MIGHT STILL BE ACCESSIBLE TO REBELS. ALTHOUGH MOST SHELL-BP FACILITIES NOW IN AREAS NOMINALLY UNDER FMG CONTROL, COMPANY NOT SATISFIED THAT PROPERTIES ARE SECURE FROM RAIDS. COMPANY DOES NOT PLAN TO ANNOUNCE LIFTING OF CRUDE OIL UNLESS IT BECOMES PUBLIC. WE EMPHASIZE ABOVE DOES NOT RPT NOT MEAN RESUMPTION OF EVEN SMALL AMOUNT OF PRODUCTION IN EAST, DATE FOR WHICH REMAINS UNCERTAIN.

GP-3. MATHEWS:

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By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05





POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 104

PAGE 01 LAGOS 12361 041757Z

43:  
ACTION: AF 15

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, GPM 04, H 02,  
INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, SAH 02, SAL 01,  
SA 01, RSR 01, ACDA 16, PC 04, AID 28, /154 W

P R 041640Z SEPI 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2402  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
CINCSSTRIKE/CINCMCAFSA  
DIA

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 12361

SUBJECT: FMG CLAIMS CAPTURE OF ABA

REF: DAO 0379 AUG 68 (NOTAL)

FOLLOWING PRESS RELEASE PUT OUT BY FMG AT 1500Z:

1. QTE: ARMY HEADQUARTERS CONFIRMED THAT FEDERAL TROOPS OF 3 MARINE COMMANDO LIBERATED ABA THIS MORNING AND THAT NIGERIAN FLAG IS PROUDLY FLYING OVER ABA AT 10 AM. MORALE OF TROOPS IS VERY HIGH. CARE OF CIVILIANS IN THAT AREA IS ALREADY IN PROGRESS.

2. UNQTE: ALSO, REPORT HAS REACHED ARMY HEADQUARTERS OF LIBERATION OF NDI ABASI, A TOWN ON ROAD FROM AFIKPO TO OKIGWI, AND OWUTU, AN IMPORTANT ROAD JUNCTION TOWN, SOUTHWEST OF AFIKPO, BY TROOPS OF 1ST DIVISION OF NIGERIAN ARMY. OPERATIONS IN THE 2ND DIVISION SECTOR ARE ALSO SATISFACTORY.

3. QTE: COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF HAS SENT MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS TO COMMANDER 3 MARINE COMMANDO,

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 12361 041757Z

COLONEL ADEKUNLE, COMMANDER 1ST DIVISION, COLONEL SHUWA  
AND ALSO TO COMMANDER 2ND DIVISION, COLONEL IBRAHIM HARUNA  
THROUGH CHIEF OF STAFF NIGERIAN ARMY, BRIGADIER HASSAN  
USMAN KATSINA. UNQTE.

4. COMMENT: DATT OF OPINION THAT FED TROOPS LIBERATED  
NDI ABASI SEVERAL DAYS AGO, AND CAPTURE OF ABA NOW FIRM.  
ARMY COFS REPORTED TROOPS AT AKEI EZE 3 SEPT, AND ADVANCING.

MATHEWS:

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DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

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*Intelligence*  
*Note* - 691

September 3, 1968

To : The Secretary  
Through: S/S  
From : INR - Thomas L. Hughes *TH*  
Subject: Prospects for the OAU Summit Meeting in Algiers

The fifth Summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) is scheduled for Algiers on September 13-16. It will be preceded by a preparatory meeting, also in Algiers, at the foreign ministers' level (September 4-12). Considering the lack of enthusiasm for the conference that persisted until very recently, a surprising number of chiefs of state, 23 according to the Algerian press, are expected to attend; of the 39 member states only Malawi apparently will be absent. The OAU recently admitted Mauritius by mail ballot. Swaziland will become the 40th member after it becomes independent September 6.

The Main Issues... At least three of some 30-40 issues proposed for the summit agenda are likely to be prominent:

(1) Nigeria. When the summit convenes on September 13, the fighting will probably still be in progress despite the drive of the Federal Government (FMG) to win the war quickly--if possible before the 13th. The determination of both sides to continue military operations and their failure--if this is still the case--to agree on opening access routes for relief shipments will probably benefit on the whole the Biafran cause by calling attention to its plight. The summit will consider the report of the OAU's Consultative Mission on Nigeria, chaired by Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie. Thus far his patient efforts to promote an understanding have been unavailing. Diplomatic developments before the summit, many of which cannot now be foreseen, will affect the

This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, it has not been coordinated elsewhere.

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downgrading and  
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POL 3 OAU  
Xc POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
Xc POL 7 ALG  
Xc POL 30-2 ANG  
Xc POL 13 OAU

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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PAGE 01 KADUNA 01322 031026Z

16  
ACTION AF 15

INFO IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCSE 00, SCA 02, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12,

RSR 01, EUR 15, /150 W

R 030800Z SEP 68  
FM AMCONSUL KADUNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 875  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMCONSUL IBADAN

UNCLAS KADUNA 1322

AUGUST 31 NEW NIGERIAN EDITORIAL ENTITLED "A MOMENTOUS DECISION" DECLARES ITS SUPPORT FOR FMG PROPOSAL INVITE FOREIGN OBSERVERS TO WITNESS WHAT IT CALLS "THE DEATH OF A REBELLION." EDITORIAL SAYS THAT "NOTHING COULD DO MORE THAN THE INVITATION OF IMPARTIAL OBSERVERS TO CONVINCE THE WORLD THAT WE REALLY DO WANT THE IBO RACE AS PART OF THE NIGERIA OF THE FUTURE" AND NOT INTEND WIPE OUT IBOS AS A RACE. INVASION WILL COST LIVES BUT IN LONG RUN WILL SAVE LIVES BY BRINGING RELIEF TO THE STARVING. NEW NIGERIAN SUGGESTS THAT FMG MIGHT CONSIDER WIDENING THE SCHEME TO INCLUDE REPS. OF NIGERIAN AND FOREIGN PRESS AS A MEANS OF CORRECTING MISCONCEPTIONS IN IN WORLD OPINION CAUSED BY REBEL PROPAGANDA.

STOKES.

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XR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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23

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PAGE: 01 OSLO 06341 031618Z

53:  
ACTION: AF 15:

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DD 00, GPMI 04, HI 02, INR 07, LI 03,

NSC 10, PI 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SA 01, SAL 01, SAH 02, SR 01,

ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02, AID 28, RSR 01, 158: W

RI 031540Z SEPI 68:  
FMI AMEMBASSY OSLO  
TO: SECSTATE WASHDC 1937  
INFO: AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN UNNI  
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI UNNI

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE OSLO 6341

SUBJECT: NORWEGIANS ASK NIGERIANS ALLOW MERCY FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA

REF: OSLO 6058, 6323, 6328

1. NORWEGIAN PRIMINI BORTEN SEPT 2 ADDRESSED PERSONAL APPEAL BY LETTER TO NIGERIAN LEADER GOWON, INSISTING FNG NOT RPT NOT INTERFERE WITH FLIGHTS OF RELIEF SUPPLIES TO BIAFRA. REFERRING TO EARLIER NORDIC APPROACHES (SEE REFTELS) WHICH ALSO BASED ON "PURELY HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS". BORTEN SAID ICRC HAD INFORMED GOWON IT INTENDED INCREASE NUMBER FLIGHTS "UNDER ITS EXCLUSIVE CONTROL", AND HE PERSONALLY CONVINCED PLANES WOULD CARRY NO RPT NO MILITARY SUPPLIES. HE WARNED THAT ANY NIGERIAN EFFORTS HINDER FLIGHTS "WOULD AROUSE STRONG REACTION IN OFFICIAL NORWEGIAN OPINION."

2. FONMINI LYNNG RECEIVED PETITION SAME DAY FROM IMPRESSIVE CITIZENS GROUP URGING HIM TO A) LEAD OR SEND NORWEGIAN DELEGATION TO LAGOS TO ATTEMPT PRESSURE FNG AUTHORITIES PERMIT RELIEF SUPPLIES INTO BIAFRA AND B) TO ENCOURAGE AS MANY OTHER STATES, ESPECIALLY NORDIC COUNTRIES, TO DO SAME.

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23

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3. GON HAS DESIGNATED CROWN PRINCE'S FORMER AIDE JAN ORNER, WHO IS KNOWLEDGEABLE AND POLITICALLY CONSCIOUS NAVY CAPTAIN, AS LIAISON OFFICER FROM GON TO ALL RELIEF AGENCIES OPERATING IN BIAFRA. HE IS UNDER CONTRACT TO MARCH GROUP WHICH SPEARHEADS RELIEF EFFORTS HERE. ORNER LEAVES THIS WEEK FOR CONTACT WITH EUROPEAN RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS AND EXPECTS ARRIVE FERNANDO PO OR SAN TOME IN ABOUT TEN DAYS.

4. COMMENT: BIAFRA SITUATION OF GREAT CONCERN NORWEGIAN PEOPLE AND GOVT, AND WILL BE MAIN AGENDA ITEM FORTHCOMING STOCKHOLM MTG NORDIC FORNMIN. ALTHOUGH HIGHLY IMPROBABLE GON OR NORDICS WOULD SEND HIGH LEVEL DELEGATION TO NIGERIA, SOME FORM CONCERTED ACTION CAN BE EXPECTED EMERGE FROM STOCKHOLM MTG. TIBBETTS

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CONFIDENTIAL 382

PAGE 01 LAGOS 12313 031736Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, USIE 00, SA 01, SAH 02, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, CCO 00,  
SSO 00, NSCE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,  
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, RSR 01, 149 W

P R 031641Z SEP 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2373  
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION NY  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 12313

SUBJECT: NEWSWEEK ARTICLE ON NIGERIAN ATROCITIES

1. WE ASSUME FROM CONVERSATION WITH CORRESPONDENT JOHN BARNES THAT NEWSWEEK APPEARED THIS WEEK WITH EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT AND PICTURE OF NIGERIAN TROOPS SHOOTING IBO CAPTIVE.
2. BARNES ALSO INFORMED US THAT ITV CAMERA CREW RECORDED INCIDENT AND THAT IT MIGHT ALREADY HAVE BEEN SHOWN IN LONDON.
3. BARNES SAID HE ENCOUNTERED CHIEF ANTHONY ENAHORO ON FLIGHT TO ACCRA LAST WEEK AND TOLD HIM OF INCIDENT. THIS ENCOUNTER MAY HAVE LED TO SUMMARY EXECUTION OF NIGERIAN LIEUTENANT RESPONSIBLE FOR SHOOTING, ALTHOUGH ACCOUNTS VARY. THIS MORNING'S LAGOS PRESS, FOR EXAMPLE, SAYS THAT LIEUTENANT WILL BE EXECUTED. HOWEVER, MICHAEL NICHOLSON OF ITV HAS TOLD UK HICOM THAT HE AND HIS CREW WERE ASKED BY ADEKUNLE ON AUGUST 31 TO IDENTIFY A LIEUTENANT WHO WAS QTE WEeping AND PLEADING FOR HELP. UNQTE AFTER POSITIVE IDENTIFICATION, ADEKUNLE THEN REPORTEDLY SAID, QTEI TAKE HIM AWAY AND SHOOT HIM UNQTE.

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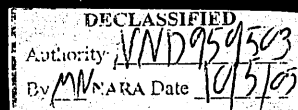
4. NICHOLSON HAS ALSO TOLD UK HICOM HE WAS INCLINED TO THINK IBO WAS SOLDIER IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES. NICHOLSON FURTHER STATED HE SAW NIGERIAN LIEUTENANT IN QUESTION SEND FORESAKEN IBO BABIES AND REFUGEES TO PORT HARCOURT IN A TRUCK.

5. NICHOLSON HAS TOLD UK HICOM THAT STORY IN LONDON DAILY TELEGRAPH AUGUST 30 WAS INCORRECT AND THAT THE IBO DID NOT ARRIVE ON A BICYCLE BRANDISHING FMG SAFE-CONDUCT LEAFLET.

6. BARNES HAS ALREADY ASKED NEWSWEEK TO FOLLOW UP NEXT WEEK WITH SEQUEL TO STORY.  
GP-3 MATHEWS

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SUBJECT: BIAFRA AID

FOLLOWING CONVERSATION OTHER MATTERS SEPT 1, UNDERSECY JACOBSEN SAID NORDIC PLANES PUT AT DISPOSITION INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS SCHEDULED FLY INTO BIAFRA FROM FERNANDO PO SEPT 3, WHICH WOULD PUT THEM SQUARE IN MIDDLE OF ANNOUNCED NIGERIAN FINAL OFFENSIVE. VIEW BELLIGERENT ATTITUDE LAGOS TOWARD THESE FLIGHTS AND PRESENCE NORWEGIAN CREW, JACOBSEN SAID GON WAS DEEPLY CONCERNED.

GP-3. TIBBETTS

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PAGE 01 LONDON 12277 302207Z

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AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION GENEVA

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1. TROXEL AND STEARNS MET WITH ERIC NORRIS, DONALD TEBBIT AND PATRICK MOBERLY OF COMMONWEALTH OFFICE, AND ROB YOUNG OF FONOFF THIS AFTERNOON.

2. BRITISH TABLED PAPER WHICH TROXEL CARRYING BACK WITH HIM COMMENTING ON US CONTINGENCY PROPOSAL. PAPER IS THOUGHTFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE, WHILE SHOWING CONCERN TO AVOID "SITUATION IN WHICH NONE OF MEASURES WERE BEING ACTED UPON, EXCEPT SUGGESTED PROHIBITION OF ARMS SUPPLIES BY OURSELVES." IT ASSUMES FURTHER US-UK EXPLORATION FROM WHICH "AGREEMENT MIGHT EMERGE ON APPROACH TO EMPEROR FOR PURPOSE OF SECURING HIS VIEWS ON MOST EFFECTIVE ACTION HE MIGHT TAKE WITH SUPPORT OF US AND UK GOVERNMENTS."

① 3. WHILE BRITISH HAVE PACKAGED PROPOSAL IN SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT WAY, IT CONTAINS SAME INGREDIENTS AND AIMS AND SAME OBJECTIVES. IMPLICATIONS OF FMG REQUEST FOR OBSERVERS DISCUSSED AT SOME LENGTH, WITH CONSENSUS THAT REQUEST MAY PROVE BE HELPFUL IN CONNECTION PROPOSAL.

4. BRITISH AND WE AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE UNWISE APPROACH EMPEROR WITH ANY PROPOSAL WITHOUT FIRST LEARNING FROM HIM HOW HE SEES SITUATION, TO AVOID CUTTING ACROSS WHATEVER HOPE EMPEROR

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MAY STILL HAVE OF SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME HIS PRESENT EFFORTS. BRITISH POINTED OUT MALCOLM MACDONALD WILL BE IN ADDIS ABABA SEPT 9 TO DISCUSS HORN WITH EMPEROR. THEY THOUGHT IT WOULD BE NATURAL FOR SUBJECT OF NIGERIA TO ARISE AND SUGGESTED THAT MACDONALD SOUND OUT EMPEROR ON STATUS HIS EFFORTS. WE URGED MACDONALD BE INSTRUCTED MAKE EXPLICIT TO EMPEROR STRONG HOPE HE SHOULD NOT GIVE UP INITIATIVE WITHOUT FURTHER DISCUSSION TO SEE IN WHAT WAY UK AND US MIGHT BE HELPFUL. NORRIS THOUGHT THIS COULD BE DONE, UNDERTOOK HAVE MACDONALD REPORT IMMEDIATELY TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS TO FACILITATE FURTHER UK-US CONSULTATIONS ON BASIS WHAT MACDONALD HAS LEARNED. BRUCE

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STATE

Subject: Gowon's Statement on BBC

Press today reports Gowon's statement on BBC "24 Hours" Program that "final Nigerian push on breakaway Biafra began Saturday" ~~Saturday night~~ and that military conquest of Biafra would be accomplished within four weeks. Broadcast presumably August 26. Would appreciate further details of Gowon's statement and text if available.

END

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